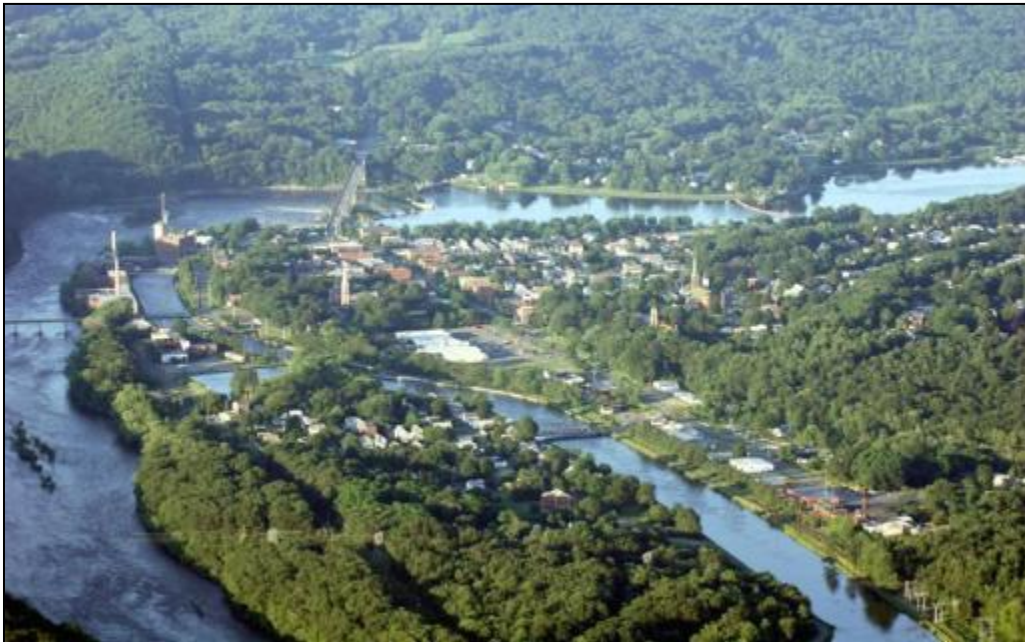


Technical Report

**Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut
(May 19, 1676)**

Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan

**Department of the Interior,
National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program
GA-2287-14-012**



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Mashantucket Pequot Museum & Research Center**

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National Park Service. Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations
expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the
Department of the Interior.

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I. Introduction

Project Description

In recognition of the historical and cultural significance of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut that occurred on May 19, 1676, the Town of Montague, with support from the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of representatives from the Towns of Montague, Greenfield and Gill, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mohegan, Nipmuc, and Mashpee Wampanoag Tribes, received a Site Identification and Documentation grant (GA-2287-14-012) from the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) to conduct a pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project to identify the likely locations of the King Philip's War (1675-1676) Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield and associated sites. The Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Project is considered the first phase of a longer term project to conduct a Battlefield Archaeology Survey to identify and recover battle-related objects from the sites, battles, and actions associated with Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield.

The pre-inventory and documentation project included consultation with the Native American community associated with Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and associated sites, examination and analysis of documentary records and archeological collections associated with the battle, collection of Tribal and non-tribal (Yankee) oral histories, military terrain analysis (KOCOA) to identify and assess the battlefield terrain including avenues of approach and withdrawal, key terrain features, battlefield sites and actions, ancillary sites, and battlefield Study and Core Areas. An additional, although no less important goal was to engage local officials, landowners, and the interested public in

efforts to locate and protect the battlefield(s) and associated sites. This technical report summarizes the research, methods, and results of the “Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut” National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) grant awarded in July 2014 to the Town of Montague, Massachusetts.¹

The overall goal of the “Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut” was to document the actions and events that constitute the Battle of Great Falls (May 19, 1676) beginning with the event(s) leading up to the English attack on the village of Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and the Native counterattacks on retreating English forces that followed. This Technical Report includes the following chapters; I: Introduction; II: Historical Context; III: Research Methods; IV: Results of Historical Research; V: Synthesis: Identification of Probable Battlefield Areas; VI: Research Design: Future Site and Documentation Phase; VII: Provisional Long Term Protection Plan; VIII: Appendices; IX: Works Cited.

In recognition of the historical and cultural significance of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut that occurred on May 19, 1676, the Town of Montague, with support from the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of representatives from the Towns of Montague, Greenfield and Gill, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mohegan, Nipmuc, and Mashpee Wampanoag Tribes, received a Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan grant from the National Park Service,

¹ The NPS ABPP promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The purpose of the program is to assist citizens, public and private institutions, and governments at all levels in planning, interpreting, and protecting sites where historic battles were fought on American soil during the armed conflicts that shaped the growth and development of the United States, in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from the ground where Americans made their ultimate sacrifice. The goals of the program are: 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced the course of American history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations.

American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP). The purpose of the grant was to conduct a pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project to identify the likely locations of the King Philip's War (1675-1676) Peskeompskut (Turners Falls) Battlefield and associated sites which includes, but is not limited to, the Native American community of Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Researching these battlefield sites included the examination of documentary records and archeological collections, Tribal and non-tribal (Yankee) oral histories, and the use of military terrain analysis. An additional goal is to engage the local officials, landowners, and the interested public in efforts to locate and protect the battlefield(s) and associated sites.

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut was one of the most significant battles of King Philip's War (1675-1676) as it marked the beginning of the end of the war. The early morning surprise attack on the multi-tribal villages and encampments at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut by 150-160 English soldiers and settlers from the settlements of Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield area effectively ended nascent peace discussions between the United Colonies (Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth) and the Native American tribes fighting the English including the Narragansett, Pocumtuck, Nonotuck, Norrotuck, Pokanoket/Wampanoag, and Nipmuc. The attack on the unsuspecting villagers, gathered at their traditional gathering place at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut for fishing and ceremony, resulted in the deaths of over two hundred Native people, mostly women and children. The tribes also lost their supplies of fish intended to see them through the next year, as well as war making materials such as anvils, tools, and lead. Nonetheless the alliance mounted several attacks against the English at Northampton, Hatfield, and Hadley over the next few months, all unsuccessful and resulting in heavy Native casualties. Eventually the combined losses of

leaders, men, food and military supplies, and growing dissension among the alliance on future courses of action to take forced the alliance of tribes gathered at the Turners Falls area to disband and many returned to the “relative” safety of their homelands in Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Narragansett territories. These communities, and those remaining in the Connecticut valley, were aggressively pursued by the English for the remainder of the war and i In the ensuing months thousands of Native people were killed, captured, and enslaved bringing the war to a rapid conclusion a few months later.

The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (MPMRC) conducted the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project through a program of historical (primary) research, interviews and field visits with knowledgeable individuals, military and Colonial history research, historical archeological and material culture research, and military terrain analysis (KOCOA). The resulting information from these sources along with observations gained through windshield and walkover surveys of the battlefield were used to identify and map the likely location(s) of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and associated sites, Native and Colonial avenues / routes of approach and retreat, battles and engagements, campsites, and village. This information was integrated into a GIS database and battlefield Study (overall battlefield geography) and Core (areas of engagement) defined. All work was conducted in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Archeology and Historic Preservation*, and the methods outlined in the National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program *Battlefield Survey Manual* (2000). All work was coordinated with the Battlefield Study Advisory Board comprised of representatives of the Towns of Montague, Gill, and Greenfield, and the Narragansett, Aquinnah Wampanoag, Mashpee

Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Mohegan Tribes, and any individuals with expertise in the history and archaeology of the study area.

American Battlefield Protection Program

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The purpose of the program is to assist citizens, public and private institutions, and governments at all levels in planning, interpreting, and protecting sites where historic battles were fought on American soil during the armed conflicts that shaped the growth and development of the United States, in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from the ground where Americans made their ultimate sacrifice. The goals of the program are; 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced American history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations.

Battlefield Surveys

Battlefield surveys are an important aspect of historic preservation as many significant battlefield sites are destroyed or negatively impacted through ignorance of their location and significance. Many battlefields might be preserved if the property owner and community were aware of their existence and informed of the significance of the battlefield and its contribution to a broader understanding and appreciation of history. Preserved battlefields and related historic sites can add to a community's sense of identity and foster a greater interest in history and preservation efforts. The identification,

documentation (through historical research and battlefield archaeology), and mapping of a battlefield's historic and cultural resources are an essential first step for any battlefield preservation efforts. The long-term preservation goal of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut project is to nominate significant battle sites to the National Register of Historic Places, educate the public on the importance of King Philip's War battlefield sites and to develop a long-term historic preservation program for identified sites.

The first step in battlefield preservation is to locate and delineate the extent of the site and battlefields and assess their integrity. This requires establishing a boundary around a battlefield and site and integrating all relevant physical (e.g. terrain/topography) and cultural features (e.g. paths/trails, roads, hilltops, bridges, fords, towns, palisades, redoubts, etc.) and artifact distributions (e.g. musket balls, brass arrow points, equipment) into an appropriately scaled topographic base map using GIS (Geographic Information Systems). The boundary must be defensible based on historical and archeological evidence (i.e. documents, field survey, terrain analysis and archeological surveys) and encompass historic architectural resources if associated. Three boundaries are created for a battlefield: Study Area, Core Area(s), and Area(s) of Integrity. Study Areas encompass the tactical context and visual setting of the battlefield and reflect the historical extent of the battlefield. Study Areas can contain one or more Core Areas defined as area(s) of direct combat. Areas of Integrity delineate those portions of a historic battlefield landscape that still convey a sense of the historic scene and contain material remains (artifacts and features) that are associated with the battle. Generally Areas of Integrity are not assessed until landowner permissions have been obtained and the battlefield archeological survey has been completed.

The NPS ABPP has developed an approach to research, document, and map battlefields that has proven to be highly successful.² These methods were originally developed for Civil War battlefields and later applied to many Revolutionary War battlefields. Seventeenth century battlefields such as those of King Philip's War present unique challenges for historians and battlefield archeologists to research, survey, document, and delineate battlefield boundaries given the nature of seventeenth century sources, the low density and frequency of artifacts associated with seventeenth century battlefields in North America, and the high frequency and density of non-battle related objects on a landscape after 350 of land use activities unrelated to the battle. Nonetheless, the methods developed for seventeenth century battlefields have proven very successful and it is anticipated they will be successful documenting Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut sites as well.³

Project Scope and Objectives

The overall goal of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut project was to not only to research the battle and to identify potential sites for future battlefield archeological surveys, but to place the battle in a broader historical and cultural context. To that extent the broader history of the war and the region were incorporated into the historical analysis for this Technical Report. Analysis of historical and material materials was an important aspect of this study as was research on the Native and English communities and individuals involved in the battle. Another important aspect of historical and material culture research was documenting the nature

² American Battlefield Protection Program, *Battlefield Survey Manual* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, revised 2007).

³ Kevin McBride, David J. Naumec, et al. "*Battle of Mistick Fort Documentation Plan*" GA-2255-09-017. Mashantucket, CT: Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, 2012.

of period European and Native American military culture and associated technologies, the evolution of technologies and tactics, and reconstructing the social-political organization and kinship ties relationships of the Native tribes present in the region at the time of the battle.

The fighting that occurred at the Great Falls on May 9, 1676 involved hundreds of English and Native soldiers who fought over at least a 30 square mile area [Figure 1]. The battlefield terrain and key terrain features (e.g. fords, White Ash Swamp) over which much of the combat is believed to have occurred influenced many of the tactical decisions made by both sides before, during, and after the battle. Primary accounts from contemporary historians, such as Increase Mather and William Hubbard, English soldiers like Jonathan Wells or Narragansett soldier Wenanaquabin, provide important details on the battle including the initial English attack, and the successful Native counterattacks which routed the English into a panicked retreat. Various accounts document an unorganized English retreat south towards Hadley and describe close quarter fighting as the English soldiers broke into small groups in a desperate effort to escape Native attacks. Many were overrun and ambushed from swamps, and many of the captured English were tortured to death. After the initial shock of the English assault, the Native soldiers from several surrounding communities mobilized and counterattacked the English shortly after the attack on the village at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut was over and the English were mounting their horses to begin the retreat. In sharp contrast to the inexperienced, poorly organized and generally poorly led English, the counterattacking Native forces were very experienced, well led, and intimately familiar with the terrain. The Native tactics of ambush at swamps and fords and direct assaults from the flanks and rear of the retreating English were highly effective against the inexperienced English soldiers.

An important goal of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut project was to identify and assess the integrity of the battlefield terrain and associated sites and villages associated with the Great Falls battle according to KOCOA standards, and evaluate the effects of the landscape on the outcome of the battle. The defining features from battles actions and sites have been categorized into critical, major and minor defining features.⁴ The critical defining battles, sites and features were mapped using GPS and GIS technology.

Study and Core Areas & Areas of Integrity

Defining Study and Core Areas of the battlefield is a critical part of the battlefield documentation process.⁵ The Study Area of a battlefield is defined as the maximum delineation of the historical battlefield site and should contain all the terrain and cultural features related to or contributing to the battle event including where troops maneuvered, deployed, and fought immediately before, during, and immediately after combat. The Study Area functions as the tactical context and visual setting of the battlefield. The natural features and contours visible on relevant USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle maps are used to outline a study area and include all those locations that directly contributed to the development and conclusion of the battle (Figure 1). The study area should include the following:

- Core Areas of combat
- approach and withdrawal routes of the combatants
- locations of all deployed units of the combatants on the field, even reserves
- preliminary skirmishing if it led directly to the battle, and

⁴ See Chapter III Research Design, Methods, & Terrain Analysis; KOCOA Analysis; Table 1.

⁵ ABPP, *Battlefield Survey Manual*. Pp. 28-29.

- logistical areas of the armies (supply trains, hospitals, ammunition dumps, etc.).

The Study Area is restricted to the immediate flow of battle after one side or the other has moved to initiate combat. For example, if a unit left its encampment or assembly area intending to attack the enemy at dawn, it would be appropriate to include these encampments or areas within the Study Area as the initial position of the attacking force (e.g. assembly point west of Falls Brook just before the battle). The route of the previous day's march to reach these encampments or assembly points would not be included, although the selection of the avenue of approach of attacking forces may have been a tactical decision that would play a role in understanding the broader battlefield. The Study Area ends where the armies disengaged, although in the case of the Peskeompskut battlefield that may be difficult to determine. Forces may have disengaged under orders, because of darkness or adverse weather conditions, pursuit of a retreating force halted by a rear guard action, or because one force accomplished its objective and chose not to pursue its retreating foe.

The Core Area of a battlefield is the area of direct combat and includes those places where the opposing forces engaged and incurred casualties such as the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut village, Native attack on the English assembly/horse tie down area, and Native ambushes along the White Ash Swamp. The Core Area(s) must fall fully within the Study Area. The natural features and contours on the USGS 7 ½ minute quadrant help to define areas of confrontation, conflict, and casualties. Natural barriers, such as rivers, creeks, swamps, hills and ridges often restrained the movement of the combatants, providing a natural landscape or topographical boundary for the battlefield Study.

Generally Study Areas can be reasonably well defined for Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields based on better documentation and maps compared to King Philip's War battlefields. No known period maps document the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut or any other action that occurred during King Philip's War and period descriptions of battle locations are often conflicting and ambiguous.

Areas of Integrity delineate those portions of the historic battlefield landscape that still convey a sense of the historic scene (retain visual and physical integrity) and can still be preserved (at least in part). Any parts of the study and core areas that have been impacted or otherwise compromised by modern development, erosion or other destructive forces, and can no longer provide a feeling of the historic setting are excluded from areas of integrity. Although impacted to some degree, the Core Areas identified for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut still convey a sense of the historic landscape. Even battlefields located in suburban areas such as the Riverside District may still retain a degree of integrity and significance if battle-related artifacts and other archeological information (e.g. campfires, ditches, etc.) can be recovered or observed in undisturbed contexts. In such instances the presence of houses may affect the feeling of the historic setting but information may still be present that will contribute to the archeological significance of the battlefield.

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut still retains physical elements that convey a sense of the landscape at the time of the battle. Since 1676 houses, roads, dams, and industrial sites have impacted portions of the battlefield but there are many areas of the battlefield that still retain sufficiently intact battlefield terrain and key terrain features to give one a sense of the 17th Century battlefield. For example, although the Riverside District where the attack on the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut

village took place has been visually and archeological impacted by residential development, the area still retains a moderate degree of visual and archeological integrity. The rising hill behind the village, and where the English attack originated from still retains geographic and

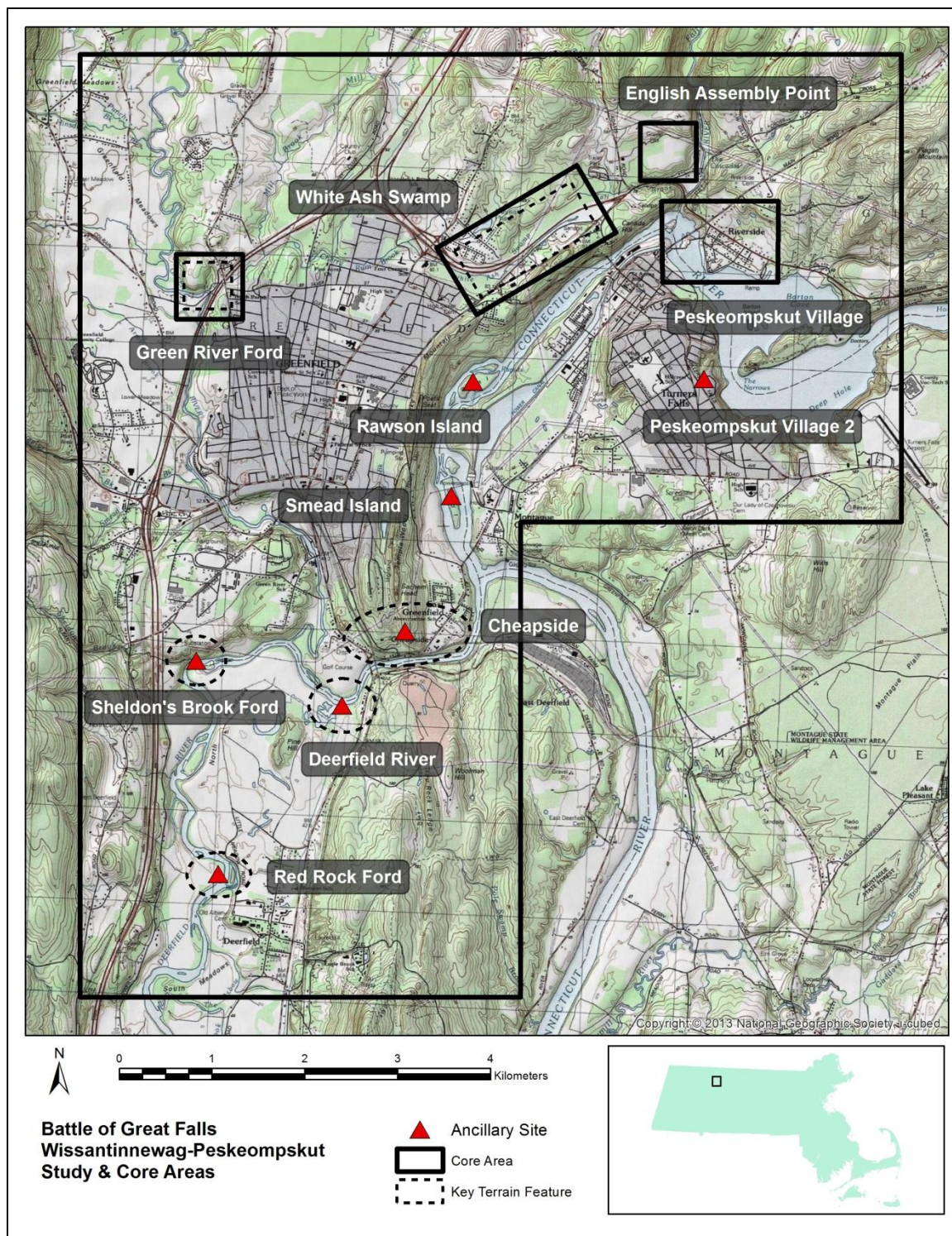


Figure 1. *Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut: Study and Core Areas, Ancillary Sites and Key Terrain Features*

topographic integrity sufficient to convey the setting for the avenue of attack taken by the English and the setting for the village below. In addition, earlier archeological investigations in the Riverside District area have demonstrated that intact archeological deposits still exist some dating back 8,000 years.

Surprisingly, suburban areas always retain a fairly high percentage of undisturbed terrain, sometimes as much as 50-60% as demonstrated by the archeological surveys of the Battlefields of Mistick Fort and Saybrook Fort.⁶ The most significant impacts to a 17th Century New England battlefield are often those associated with 350 years of land use activity after the battle. Post-battle artifacts can include stone walls, quarry pits, modern bullets, horse and ox shoes, quarry tools such as feathers and plugs, chain links, and personal items such as coins, buttons and harmonicas. While these activities resulted in thousands of objects deposited on the battlefield landscape, and made the identification of battle and non-battle related objects more challenging, they do not significantly affect the integrity of the battlefield.

*Preliminary Statement of Significance of the Battle of Great Falls:
Evaluation under National Register Criteria of A and D.*

The National Register is the nation's inventory of historic places and the national repository of documentation on the variety of historic property types, significance, abundance, condition, ownership, needs, and other information. It is the beginning of a national census of historic properties. The National Register Criteria for Evaluation define the scope of the National Register of Historic Places; they identify the range of resources and kinds of significance that will qualify properties for listing in the National

⁶ See: McBride, et. al. *Mistick Fort: Documentation Plan* 2012.

Register. The Criteria are written broadly to recognize the wide variety of historic properties associated with our prehistory and history. Decisions concerning the significance, historic integrity, documentation, and treatment of properties can be made reliably only when the resource is evaluated within its historic context. The historic context serves as the framework within which the National Register Criteria are applied to specific properties or property types.

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association: Criterion A: That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; Criterion B: That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; Criterion C: That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; Criterion D: That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Under Criterion A, the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut is significant in the overall conduct of King Philip's War because it marked the beginning of the end of the tribal alliance and organized resistance to the Colonists in the middle Connecticut River Valley. The broader Colonial campaign against the Native people in the middle Connecticut Valley is also significant as a demonstration of the English forces' acquired mastery of military tactics, including the use of combined English and

Indian forces and mounted troops, which enabled them to reverse earlier losses and bring the war to a successful close.

The battlefield also possesses significance under Criterion D for its potential to further elucidate the nature of the battle, and the evolution of the tactics and materiel of King Philip's War. In addition, further archaeology has the potential to yield significant information on evolving Native strategy and tactics during the war and particularly in the Connecticut Valley. Further archeological and historical research can elucidate the particular role Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut played as a place of habitation, agriculture, ceremony and refuge.

II. Historic Context

Brief History of King Philip's War

King Philip's War Begins – June 1675 through April 1676

King Philip's War (June 1675 – August 1676) was an armed conflict between dozens of Native American tribes and bands who inhabited (and still do) present-day southern New England fighting against the United Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth.⁷ English-allied Native tribes of the various colonies played a significant role in the war including the Mohegan, Pequot, Tunxis, and Western Niantic of Connecticut and Christian Indians groups in Massachusetts and Plymouth. The war is named after the Pokanoket sachem Metacom, known to the English as "King Philip" as the war began in Plymouth Colony, homeland of the Pokanoket.

⁷ King Philip's War has also been referred to as the First Indian War, Metacom's War, Metacom's Rebellion, or the Great Narragansett War.

King Philip's War began on June 25, 1675 when a group of Metacom's men attacked and killed several English at Swansea, Massachusetts as a result of rising tensions between the Pokanoket and Plymouth following the execution of three Pokanoket men by the English several months earlier.⁸ The execution initiated a sequence of events that engulfed all of New England in a full-scale war within six months. Once Metacom and his followers escaped English forces at Mount Hope and fled to central Massachusetts in late August, the Nipmuc of central Massachusetts and northeastern Connecticut as well as the Pocumtuck and other tribes of the middle Connecticut Valley joined the war against the English.

Through the summer of 1675 until the early winter of 1676 several Wampanoag bands, Narragansett, Nipmuc, and tribes from the Connecticut Valley, including the Pocumtuck, Nonotucks, Agawam, Quabaug, Nashaway, Norwottock, and Skokis, launched dozens of highly successful attacks against English towns in eastern and central Massachusetts and along the Connecticut River Valley between Springfield and Northfield. These attacks forced the English settlements at Northfield (Squakeag) and Deerfield (Pocumtuck) to be abandoned by September of 1675. In October of 1675, strategic Native attacks on English corn and grist mills in the area forced Massachusetts to send soldiers to garrison and fortify the remaining upper river valley settlements of Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton during the winter of 1675-1676. This greatly increased the burden on the local population who had to feed and house the soldiers and complained of overcrowding and shortages in medicine, food and clothing.

During the winter of 1675-1675 English towns experienced severe hunger and famine, but not nearly to the extent in Native communities. Chronic food shortages,

⁸ George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War: Being a Critical Account of that War* (Boston, MA: Rockwell and Churchill Press, 1906. Pp. 25-27

malnutrition, and consumption of spoiled meat (e.g. decomposed horse legs) led to a severe deterioration in the overall health of Native communities, widespread dysentery (“bloody flux”) and a dramatic increase in the number of deaths from battlefield casualties, exposure, malnutrition, dysentery and other undefined sicknesses. Although not documented in Native communities during the war, small pox may have also led to a significant number of deaths, particularly within an already weakened population. Massachusetts Bay soldiers were often coming and going from their communities to the battlefields and as captives potentially spreading diseases to Native communities which many English were immune to. Many Native settlements in Nipmuc Country and the Connecticut Valley were abandoned as Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut forces employed eco-terror tactics destroying Native cornfields and food stores, and keeping Native communities on the run to prevent them from gathering and hunting to and “see to it the Indians would likewise face hardships come winter.”⁹

By the spring of 1676, the war had raged for nearly a year with heavy casualties on both sides, but the Native coalition was far more successful on the battlefield than were the English. Even so, the tide of the war began to turn in favor of the English as they began to aggressively pursue, harass, and attack Native communities throughout the region; not allowing them to rest, gather food, or plant their fields. Both sides were exhausted by the early spring and there was a brief pause in the war as the combatants took time to rest and resupply. English forces in Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, and Plymouth refitted their armies, provided for the defense of their towns, and were preparing for spring offensives against the enemy. Native communities began gathering in the upper Connecticut River Valley to find refuge and to rest and recover after the long

⁹ Daniel Gookin, *An historical account of the doings and sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, 1677* (North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company, 1999). P. 439.

winter, and to gather and store food (dried fish and eventually corn) for the year to come. Native forces also took the time to re-arm and refit, and to develop a new strategy to force the English from the upper Connecticut Valley.

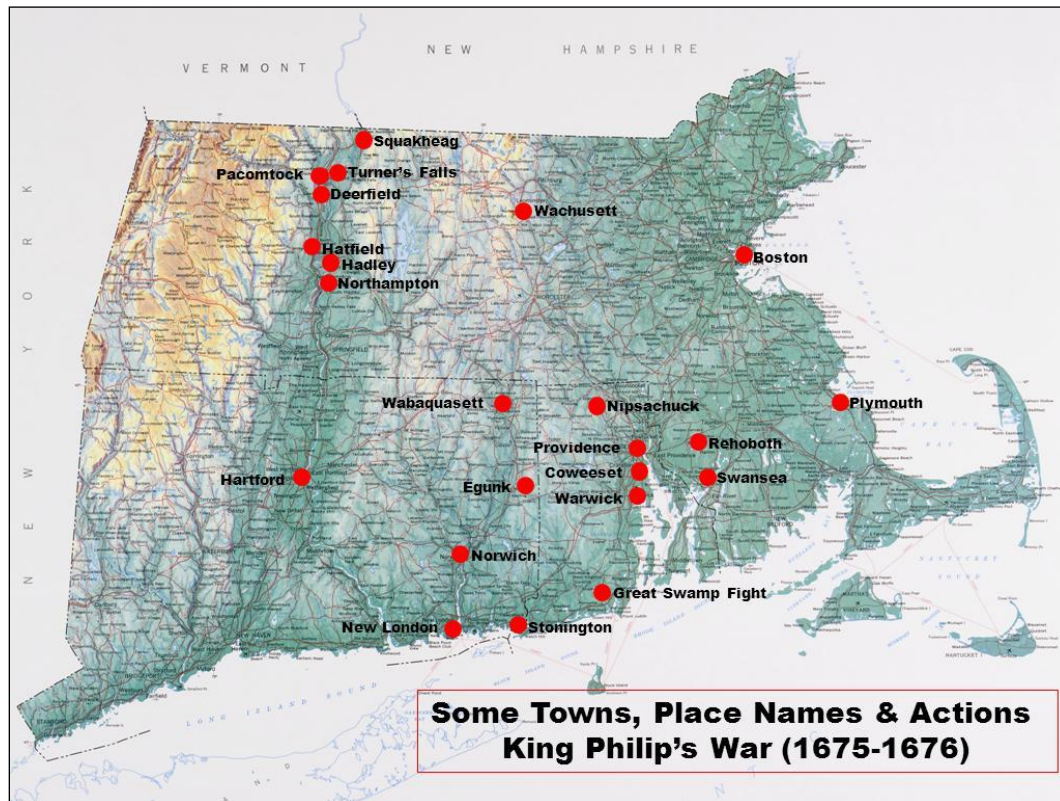


Figure 2. *Selected Towns, Place Names, and Actions of King Philip's War (1675-1676)*

By April the Great Falls area, commonly referred to as or “Peskeompskut” by the Native peoples of the region and “Deerfield Falls” by the English, had become a center of multi-tribal refugee villages and encampments. The immediate area of Peskeompskut Village attacked by the English the consisted of two flat plains along the north and south banks of the Connecticut River immediately east of the falls as well as adjacent hills and terraces. The natural rock dam at Peskeompskut forms one of the largest water falls along the entire river where anadromous fish such as shad, alewife, salmon, and eels are easily caught as they make their way upriver to spawn. Native peoples from all over the region gathered at Peskeompskut for thousands of years during the spring to take advantage of

the tremendous quantities of fish, plant, renew ties with other communities, and for ritual and ceremony.

The English and the tribes gathered at Peskeompskut were war weary by the early spring of 1676 and each began to make peace overtures. Earlier messages were exchanged between the Narragansett sachems and the English in late December and early January, but with little prospect of achieving any lasting results. Seventeenth Century historian William Hubbard reported that on January 12th a messenger came from Canonicus “desiring the space of a month longer, wherein to issue the treaty, which so provoked the Commander of our forces, that they resolved to have no more treaties with the enemy, but prepare to assault them, with God’s assistance, as soon as the season would permit.”¹⁰ Hubbard also reported the “rest of the winter was spent in fruitless treaties about a peace, both sides being well wearied with the late desperate fight, were willing to refresh themselves the remaining part of the winter with the short slumber of a pretended peace at least with a talk or a dream thereof.”¹¹ Driven by an earnest desire to end the hostilities, and to redeem Captive English settlers, On March 11th, the Commissioners of the United Colonies issued a letter to the respective Colonial governments stating:

We are well informed that the enemy hath given it out that they keep some English which they have taken captive in order to their making of peace and for that end our council have it in consideration to commission two or more meet persons...to embrace & improve all ...with assurances that they shall not be remanded by the English so as to be sold for slaves or to lose their lives...the enemy are far the greatest part of them weary of the war, as well as the English, only the youngest and their pride and fear of slavery have propose for a peace...¹²

¹⁰ William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*. Boston, MA: John Foster, 1675). P. 148.

¹¹ Hubbard, *Narrative*. P. 145.

¹² Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 45.

For their part the Connecticut War Council sent a letter dated March 28 to “the Indians in hostility against us” proposing a prisoner exchange at Hadley. They also offered “if the said Indians do desire any treaty with us, and make appear that they have been wronged by any of the English, we shall endeavor to have that wrong rectified and hear any propositions that they shall make unto us; and that if any of the sachem have a desire to treat with us, they shall have liberty to come to us and go away without any molestation.”¹³ The letter was carried by a Narragansett man named Towcanchasson, described as a counsiler to Narragansett sachems Pessicus and Quaiapan. Towcanchasson was called upon on a number of occasions in the winter and spring of 1676 to act as an intermediary between the English and Narragansett sachems during the peace process and was used by the Narragansett Sunk Squaw Sachem Quiapan, to carry peace proposals to the English at Connecticut and Massachusetts.

No immediate reply was forthcoming from the sachems, perhaps because Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay continued to attack the Native communities in Narragansett and Nipmuc countries as well as in the Connecticut Valley. English strategy was to: “put the greatest dread upon the enemy...so also prudently to embrace and improve all opportunities for obtaining a peace, so that the enemy with thorough hopelessness of having a case of submission, be made desperate in their designs.”¹⁴ Understandably Native leaders were loath to expose their communities to the uncertainties of an English peace. In early April the Narragansett Sachem Canonchet, a highly respected leader among Natives and English alike, was killed by Connecticut Dragoons when he returned to Narragansett Country to retrieve seed corn, presumably to

¹³ Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Vol. 2. Jonathan Trumbull Ed., P. 435

¹⁴ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:425.

plant in the Connecticut Valley. Canonchet's death and the loss of the seed corn was a tremendous blow to the Narragansett and the alliance. The principal Narragansett Sachem Pessicus (Sucquance) eventually responded to the Connecticut War Council's peace proposal in mid-April and stated that he would gather the other sachems to present Connecticut's terms and requested that any Narragansett sachems imprisoned by the English be released."¹⁵

On May 1st, the Connecticut Council sent a message to Pessicus and "Wequaquat, Wanchequit, Sunggumachoe and the rest of the Indian sachems up the river at Suckquackheage [Northfield]...we have received your writing brought by our two messengers and by Pessicus his messenger [presumably Towcanchasson], and in it we find no answer to what we proposed, and therefore once again we have sent these lines to you, to inform you that, as we said before, we are men of peace, and if they will deliver unto us the English captives that are with them, either for money or for captives of yours in our hands, to be returned to them, we shall accept of it so far ; and if they will attend a meeting at Hadley within these eight days, if the Sachems will come thither bringing the captives with them as a sign of their real desire of peace, we shall appoint some to meet them there, and to treat them upon terms of peace."¹⁶

At this time, it appears that Connecticut was serious about peace negotiations. The Connecticut War Council instructed Russell and the settlers at Hadley not to take any aggressive action as "in any onset should be made upon the enemy whilst the captives are in their hands they will destroy each of them...if they accept a treaty we may send a good guard to attend the messengers that shall be sent to joyne with such...accordingly to be

¹⁵ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:425

¹⁶ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:439

improved to best advantage.”¹⁷ The council offered to exchange Native prisoners for English captives and proposed to meet the sachems at Hadley within eight days (May 9th).¹⁸ On May 15th, Reverend Russell of Hadley reported to the Connecticut Council that captive Mary Rowlandson had been released (on May 2) and a Mr. Hoar “brought a letter subscribed by Philip: The Old queen [(Quiapan)] & sundry sachems containing a desire of peace or rather an overture for a cessation that they might quietly plant at Menden, Groton, Quaboag etc.”¹⁹ In late May it was reported that the “enemie” was planting at “Quabaug & at Nipsachook, nigh Coweesit: that Philip’s men & the Narraganset are generally come into these above mentioned places, only Pessicus, one of the chiefe of the Narragansett sachems did abide up at Pocomtuck with some few of his men.”²⁰

These letters suggest that with the exception of Pessicus and a few of his men, the Pokanoket, Nipmuc, and remaining Narragansett may not have been at Peskeompskut during peace negotiations and perhaps not during the battle, having elected to return to their homelands. However, Narragansett men were present at the Falls Fight, but they may have been Pessicus’ men. A Native man named “Wenanaquabin of Pawtuxett...confesseth, that he was at the fight with Capt. Turner, and there lost his gun, and swam over a river to save his life. John Wecopeak a Narragansett Indian “saith, that he was at the fight with Capt. Turner, and run away by reason that shot came as thick as

¹⁷ Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 67.

¹⁸ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:439

¹⁹ Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 71.

²⁰ Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 80a.

rain...he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shot in the thigh, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was his name.”²¹

It is possible that the alliance was beginning to dissolve even before the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut as each tribe considered different courses of action. In the case of the Narragansett and Pokanoket it meant returning to their homelands or refuges away from the valley: “Philip: The Old queen [(Quiapan)] & sundry sachems “proposed planting at Menden, Groton, Quaboag etc.” in Nipmuc country not the Connecticut Valley”²² While English sources place the Narragansett Sachem Pessicus at Pocumtuck in late May, English sources are silent on the whereabouts of Phillip and Quiapan and the rest of the Narragansett sachems, who may not have been at the Falls Fight. English sources also indicate a developing rift in the alliance in the early spring, with some members of the alliance wanting to pursue peace and others wanting to continue the war. For their part the communities of the upper Connecticut Valley were determined to stay in their homelands and to force the English out. Large-scale attacks on the English settlements at Northfield, Deerfield, Northampton and Hadley before and after the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut suggests this may have been the case.

Brief History of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut

In April of 1676, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield were the northernmost English frontier towns on the upper Connecticut River. Settlements in Deerfield and Northfield had been destroyed and abandoned earlier in the war. The Great Falls had become a gathering spot for Native peoples at war with the English and the settlements at

²¹ John Easton, *A Narrative of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War, of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton, of Rhode Island, p. 179. Alban, NY. J. Munsell 1858.

²² Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives Series, *Colonial War, Series I, 1675-1775*. Document 71.

Peskeompskut were steadily growing as Native people throughout the region gathered to rest, resupply, and participate in ceremonies and rituals. English settlers in the upriver towns were gathering intelligence that alerted them to a growing Native presence to the north at the falls. While Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay authorities were involved in peace negotiations with various Native leaders, the townspeople of the English settlements at Northhampton, Hadley and Hatfield were becoming increasingly concerned with the large body of Native forces massing to the north and the potential threats this represented.

Around May 13, 1676 Natives soldiers from the Peskeompskut area raided Hatfield meadows and captured seventy cattle and horses which were driven upriver to the north Deerfield meadows and eventually to the Native communities gathered at Peskeompskut. This incident enraged English settlers at Hatfield and the other river towns, who had been urging colonial officials to attack the upriver Native settlements for weeks. Many of the English in the Hatfield and Hadley communities were refugees from the destroyed Northfield and Deerfield settlements and harbored a great deal of resentment toward the tribes gathered at the falls. The deaths of more than 100 English soldiers and settlers in the upper valley at the area at the hands of the Indian enemy over the previous six months contributed to a growing desire on the part of the settlers to attack the Native people gathered at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut.

Around May 11 the English received word the Mohawk had attacked the Native communities near the falls.²³ Although it is unknown precisely where these attacks took place it is likely they occurred in the general vicinity of Peskeompskut which would have been received as welcome news by the Hadley settlers. Two days later two English “lads”

²³ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

taken captive during the earlier raid on Hatfield, and recently escaped, informed the settlers and garrison at Hadley about the whereabouts and disposition of the Natives at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. One of the informants, Thomas Reed, related that the Natives had planted at the Deerfield meadows and had fenced in the stolen cattle. He also described the Native encampments at the falls and estimated that there were around 60-70 warriors there.²⁴ Armed with this new information the militia committees of the upper river towns gathered men garrison soldiers and settlers from Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Springfield and Westfield and prepared for an attack on the encampments at Peskeompskut at the Great Falls.

On May 15, 1676 Reverend John Russell wrote to Secretary John Allyn for the Council of Connecticut in which he detailed the new intelligence that had been recently gathered. Russell relayed word of the Mohawk attacks on “enemy” Native forces and of the Indians gathered at the falls:

They sitt by us secure wthout watch, busy at their harvest worke storing themselves with food for a yeer to fight against us and we let theme alonge to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy.²⁵

Russell pressed Connecticut to join the upper river towns in an attack against the Natives gathered at the falls. He informed Allyn that the upper river towns were going to take immediate action against the Native encampments around Peskeompskut whether Connecticut was willing to assist or not, and regardless of any ongoing peace negotiations.²⁶ Perhaps before the Connecticut Council even received the letter from Russel Captain Turner assembled English forces from the various towns Hatfield by May 18. Turner’s relatively inexperienced militia force, drawn from townspeople and garrison

²⁴ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

²⁵ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

²⁶ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

troops, counted on the element of surprise and greater numbers of soldiers. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.²⁷ Captain William Turner and 160 men, most of them mounted, left Hatfield at dark on the evening of May 18th, anticipating a dawn surprise attack on the Native encampment at Peskeompskut²⁸

The Native encampments at Peskeompskut were located in the vicinity of the Great Falls with the two main villages located above the falls on the north and south banks of the Connecticut River. The English battle plan was likely drawn from intelligence obtained from Thomas Reed as well as English scouts who reported on the disposition of the village at Peskeompskut and Native encampments along the Connecticut River south of the falls. The English began their march just as night fell on May 18 and at dawn the following morning attacked the village at Peskeompskut and in little more than hour killed more then 200 men, women and children. As the English returned to the assembly point to mount their horses for the withdrawal to Hadley a rumor spread among the troops that King Philip was on his way with 1,000 men. At almost the same moment the English were attacked by Native soldiers from the village at the south side of the Connecticut. The coincidence of the report and the attack spread panic and fear through the English ranks and the retreat quickly turned into a rout. For the next 10 miles Ntive forces attacked the English from the front, flanks, and rear killing 38 (25%) of the English force.

²⁷ Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

²⁸ Estimates on troop strength includes "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.

The War Ends: May 1676 - 1677

The Turners Falls attack effectively ended any serious attempts by either side to pursue peace negotiations for the remainder of the war. Several days after the battle English scouts reported that the enemy had regrouped and were still encamped at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Connecticut immediately sent 80 men to Hadley to strengthen the settlements in the upper valley. The Narragansett communities who were in the Connecticut Valley began to return to Narragansett Country a few weeks after the Turners Falls Battle in the hopes of recovering stored corn to plant and to pursue peace negotiations with Massachusetts Bay. Believing that the Narragansett and other tribes were still in the Connecticut Valley, Major Talcott was issued orders from the Connecticut War Council on May 24th to assemble an army at Norwich and “go forth against the Indians at Pocumtuck and those parts.”²⁹

On May 30 Hatfield was attacked by 150 Native men presumably from Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. The attack was eventually repulsed but resulted in the deaths of five Englishmen and three wounded with several houses burned.³⁰ Connecticut’s forces had not yet arrived and Talcott wrote on May 31 that they could assist as soon as their supplies and men were replenished.³¹ The Connecticut troops arrived in Northampton on June 8 with an army of 450 men, including 100 Mohegan and Pequot soldiers and spent the next several weeks searching for the enemy. They rendezvoused with 500 Massachusetts Bay soldiers at Hadley on June 16 to conduct joint operations and seek out the enemy in the upper Connecticut Valley. The combined

²⁹ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:443.

³⁰ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:450.

³¹ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:450.

Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay expedition was the largest English force sent to the Connecticut River Valley in the entire war.

Talcott returned to Norwich on June 22nd and reported to the Council that his forces had scouted both sides of the river above Pocumtuck with no sign of enemy forces. Talcott reported that his men had been to the:

“...Falls above Pacomptock, and scouts being sent up the River on both sides and on the east side as high as Sucquackheag ; and not discovering the enemy to be in those parts, but rather they were retired back towards Watchosuck or into the Nipmug country; and that they were under no engagement of farther conjunction with the Massachusetts forces...”³²

On July 2 a force of 300 Connecticut dragoons and 100 Pequot and Mohegan attacked Narragansett encampment at Nipsachuck (northwest of Providence) killing over 150 people, mostly women and children. Among the dead was the Squaw Sachem Quaiapan and other important councilors who may have returned to Nipsachuck to pursue peace negotiations with Massachusetts Bay after they were derailed after the Battle of Great Falls. Quaiapan was feared and respected by the English as a powerful leader and someone who could gather the remaining Narragansett to potentially continue the fight against the English. Her return to Narragansett Country to seek a peace agreement with Massachusetts Bay affected Connecticut’s plans to claim Narragansett territory by the doctrine of Right of Conquest and Vacuum Domicilium. Connecticut forces moved east after the Battle at Nipsachuck and attacked a band of Narragansett led by the Narragansett sachem Potucke who intended to deliver a peace proposal to Massachusetts Bay authorities in Boston, likely on behalf of Quaiapen.³³

³² Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:455.

³³ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:459.

Connecticut's attack on Potucke did not sit well with the Massachusetts General Court who wrote a letter to the Connecticut Council on July 18th chastising them for undermining the peace process:

You are pleased in a postscript to take notice of an Indean taken by your forces with the enemy, treating with them, and pretending a commission from us; which we suppose you intimate as an irregularity in us, and is to us a matter of admiration, considering your declaration to the Indians of March 28 under the hand of your secretary. The business of the Indian you being only to receive from some of the Narragansett sachems (for which he had only our passé) some proposals of peace, which they had offered to us at Boston by a messenger of their own; which perhaps had been effected, had it not been interrupted by the accidental falling in of your forces, for which we neither blame you nor them, neither see we reason they should be discouraged thereby or the enemy hardened.³⁴

Massachusetts was being careful not to offend their most important ally, but they essentially accused Connecticut of undermining Narragansett peace overtures and intimated Connecticut was acting duplicitous as they had had earlier initiated peace negotiations with the Narragansett and then abandoned the effort. In any event, Talcott's attack on Quaiapen's and Potucke's bands was certainly fortuitous as Connecticut clearly wished to eradicate any Narragansett presence in the region.³⁵

The war in southern New England ended when English soldiers and their Native allies killed Metacom at Mount Hope in present-day Bristol, Rhode Island on August 12, 1676. The war continued in northern New England (primarily on the Maine frontier) until a treaty was signed at Casco Bay in April of 1678. By the time the war had ended, colonial authorities estimated that 600 English had been killed and 1,200 houses burned. It is impossible to accurately calculate Native casualties but it is estimated that a minimum of 3,000 Native men, women, and children were battle casualties, and

³⁴ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:465.

³⁵ Hubbard, *Narratives*. P. 96.

thousands more died from disease, starvation, and exposure, and hundreds more were sold into slavery throughout the Atlantic World.³⁶ The conflict is often referred to as the deadliest in American history based on English and Native civilian and military casualties relative to population.³⁷

Combatants, Weapons, Tactics

One of the goals of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut project was to understand how the weaponry, tactics, and experience of the combatants influenced the outcome of the war generally and the Battle of Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut in particular. Whenever possible specific English colonial or Native tribal affiliations will be used to describe combatants, otherwise English military forces will be referred to as “English Forces” while Native American groups who allied themselves with Metacom will be referred to as “Native Forces.” All armed combatants will be referred to as “soldiers” as it best describes their martial status and abilities at the time of the battle and combatants on both sides are referred to as such in the primary sources.

Native Order of Battle

Native Allied Forces

Includes (but not limited to): Pocumtuck, Norwotock, Nipmuc, Wampanoag, Narragansett people.

Native Soldiers³⁸ 100-150+/- Unknown (40-60+/-) KIA

³⁶ John Romeyn Brodhead, Ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1855). Pp. 3:243-244.

³⁷ Jason W. Warren, *Connecticut Unscathed: Victory in the Great Narragansett War 1675-1676* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014). P. 4.

³⁸ Native soldiers refer to armed Native men who engaged English forces at the Falls Fight. These men are referred to in English records as “soldiers” which refers to their training and marital status. There are very

Non-Combatants³⁹ 400-500+ 200+/- Killed

The exact number of Native combatants engaged in the Battle of Great Falls is unknown as the figures are based on English estimates and not any true accounting of fighting men. English intelligence routinely estimated that Native allied forces in the region were sometimes as high as 1,000 soldiers. One account claimed that Turner's command of 160 men "were in number near twice as many as the Enemy" placing the number of Native soldiers on the battlefield at around eighty.⁴⁰ Increase Mather wrote that Native surrenders claimed that there were 300 casualties inflicted on them at the battle and that of that number there were 170 "fighting men."⁴¹ This is an extremely high estimate and not at all consistent with other estimates, including those from English soldiers who participated in the battle who estimate the total number of casualties at 200. Thomas Reed, who spent several days as a captive at Peskeompskut estimated that there were only 60 or 70 fighting men on both sides of the river. His estimates were likely low and certainly did not include the Native forces at Cheapside and elsewhere.

Native military tactics and technology had advanced significantly since the Pequot War (1636-1637) when Native men had just begun to adopt European arms technology and had only a limited knowledge of English military capabilities. By 1670

few period estimates regarding Native troops strength, none of which are exact. Only Increase Mather reports that the number of Native soldiers were half that of the English which would account for approximately 80 men. He later states that upwards to 170 fighting men were killed during the battle. Neither of which appear accurate. Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

³⁹ Native Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: "above 200" (200+) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; "several hundreds" (200+) in L'Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; "four hundred" (400)) in L'Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; "hundreds" (200+) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; "above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground...about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River" (230+) in" (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; "two or three hundred" (200-300) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85.

⁴⁰ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

⁴¹ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50.

Native men had long been equipped with firearms, iron edged weapons, and brass-tipped arrows. They were not only skilled in the operation, repair, and care of firearms but were expert marksmen. Native men were very familiar with English military technology and understood English military training and tactics from years of working and residing in English communities. Some Native men may have even been enlisted in Massachusetts Bay trainbands as the General Council ordered that all Native men who either acted as English servants or resided in English towns were required to attend training days.⁴²

Native people had steadily acquired firearms in increasing numbers by the mid sixteenth century and were well armed when hostilities commenced in 1675.⁴³ There appears to have been a buildup of arms and ammunition by many Native communities in the years leading up to the war. The English observed an “accumulation of powder, shot, and arrows” by the Wampanoag who claimed that it was “a preparation against the Mohawks, but actually it was aimed at the English.”⁴⁴ Native men were not only very experienced with firearms on the eve of the war, but many communities had blacksmiths who had the tools and knowledge to maintain and repair firearms.⁴⁵ Native blacksmiths, such as those situated at Peskeompskut, made bullet molds and cast lead bar into shot of various diameters but were not able to make gunpowder (nor could the Colonists, powder had to be imported from Europe). However, Native forces faced constant shortages of powder and shot throughout the war. Native allies of the English were either supplied by Colonial forces or took powder and ammunition from enemies killed on the battlefield.

⁴² Patrick M. Malone, *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians* (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991). Pp. 50, 67-68.

⁴³ Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp.48-49.

⁴⁴ Leach, *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 23.

⁴⁵ Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp. 69-71.

Enemy forces relied on the Dutch, French or Native middlemen for their supplies or took them from English soldiers killed on the battlefield.

Both Native Allied and English forces were armed with a wide array of weaponry with three main categories of firearms—matchlock, wheelock, and flintlock. Of these, the flintlock firearm was the primary armament for combatants on both sides in King Philip's War. The most common arm used during the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut was likely the flintlock. Flintlock arms employed an ignition system consisting of a flint and steel system. With the flintlock arm a pull of the trigger released a piece of flint screwed tightly between the jaws of the musket hammer snapped forward to strike the frizzen, or steel, which covered a pan of powder. When the flint hit the frizzen, a shower of sparks would fall into the now exposed pan which ignited the main powder charge in the barrel, firing the musket. Of all the musket designs the flintlock was the most effective and reliable weapon and, consequently, the one which the majority of English and Native used.⁴⁶

Native men also used bows and arrows throughout the war either as a weapon of stealth and surprise, to shoot fire arrows, or because they did not have enough firearms to arm every Native soldier. From various accounts it appears that most enemy Native forces had sufficient firearms to arm only one-third to one-half of their forces. Native arrow points were generally made from brass cut from brass kettles and while they could easily penetrate English clothing they could not penetrate English buff coats unless fired at point blank range, and were completely ineffective against armor. Native bows were most effective at a range of 40 yards to better aim and penetrate the weak spots in English armor or buff coats. The maximum range of Native bows was 120-150 yards if shot

⁴⁶ David Blackmore, *Arms & Armour of the English Civil Wars* (London, UK: Royal Armouries, 1990). Pp. 32-38.

compass (at an arc) at a 45-degree angle. The bow and arrow may have been carried by all Native men as a secondary weapon when their supplies of powder and shot ran out. A single example of a southern New England bow survives picked up from the Sudbury battlefield during King Philip's War now in the collections of Harvard University. It is constructed of hickory, is approximately five and a half feet tall, and required about forty to forty-five pounds of strength to draw and fire.⁴⁷

When King Philip's War began in the spring of 1675 the Pokanoket, Pocumtuck, Nipmuc, Wampanoag, Narragansett, and other tribes were well armed, munition, and prepared to counter the English advantages in men, armor, and firepower. The Native forces often did so by laying ambushes, striking isolated English settlements, and launching coordinated, sustained, and innovative assaults on English towns. Native forces often attacked and laid siege to English towns for short periods of time killing while capturing any English who did not quickly retreat to the town's designated fortified house. Native attacks would routinely result in the destruction of all the structures outside of any fortifications along with the killing or taking of livestock. They relied on the element of surprise and would employ tactics designed to separate and overwhelm English units who could not react quickly enough to the attack. There were also many instances when Native forces had sufficient men, ammunition, and a tactical advantage to fight a sustained engagement against English soldiers.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Object Report, PMAE Number 95-20-10/49340; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Captain John Smith: A Selected Edition of his Writings* (Chapel Hill, NC; University of North Carolina, 1998). 144

⁴⁸ Malone, *The Skulking Way of War*. Pp. 67-71; Warren. *Connecticut Unscathed*. Pp. 159-162

English Allied Order of Battle

English Forces (Total, Approximately 160)⁴⁹

Hatfield:	16	3 KIA, 1 WIA
Hadley:	42	12 KIA, 2 WIA
Northampton:	37	13 KIA
Springfield:	24	2 KIA
Westfield:	4	

Captain Williams Turner assembled an attack force comprised of settlers and garrison soldiers from Hatfield (then residing in Hadley), Hadley, Northampton, Springfield, and Westfield.⁵⁰ Most of these men, including Turner had little or no combat experience accompanied by some youths no older than age sixteen. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.⁵¹ Captain William Turner's command included Lieutenant Samuel Holyoke, Ensigns Isaiah Toy and John Lyman, Sergeants John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, accompanied by Reverend Hope Atherton.⁵² When Turner's Company

⁴⁹ Estimates on troop strength includes "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171. The breakdown of English soldiers by town is extracted from the following research: Peter Thomas, *Captain William Turner and the Spring of Our Discontent*" Unpublished Draft, 2015. Pp. 13-18.

⁵⁰ On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that "I went out to Volenteare against the ingens the 17th of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19th of May in the moaning before sunrise and made great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the same day with the, Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20th of May." Orange Chapin, *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862). P. 4.

⁵¹ Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

⁵² Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

marched north from Hatfield on May 18, 1676 it consisted of a 150-180 mounted force of Dragoons (mounted infantry).⁵³

By the time of King Philip's War English colonial militia was largely based on the old militia system in existence in England. Every able bodied male of military age was required to be a member of the local militia known as the "trainband." Officers, not all of whom had prior military experience, were appointed from the local community. The number of men in an infantry company was usually 70 while dragoon companies "troops" (mounted infantry) typically ranged between 40-60 men. Trainbands would often meet monthly on predetermined "training days" to drill and learn how to effectively wield their assigned weapons. In Massachusetts Bay two-thirds of men in the trainbands were trained as musketeers and one third as pikemen. This remained the case until early in King Philip's War when colonial military officials quickly realized the ineffectiveness of pikemen against Native soldiers and began to instruct all their soldiers in the use of the musket and increasingly adopted mounted troops.⁵⁴

English colonial leadership was well aware of Native methods of warfare and the limitations of European tactics in the heavily wooded terrain of New England against an experienced enemy. Some of the English commanders had experience fighting Native forces during the Pequot War and in a few small scale engagements in the ensuing forty years. As a result of the English overwhelming victory over the Pequot forty years earlier, the English increasingly believed in the superiority of their weaponry and tactics over that of surrounding Native groups and did little to adopt their military training to

⁵³ Troop estimates include the following: "One hundred and four score" in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; "two or three hundred of them" in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; "One hundred fifty rank and file" in Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245; "About 150 or 160 mounted men" in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.

⁵⁴ Bodge, *Soldiers of King Philip's War*. Pp. 11-12; Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958). Pp. 11-12.

fight against a Native enemy. What colonial leaders did not fully realize was the extent to which Native men were able to acquire significant amounts of firearms, powder and shot in the decades before King Philip's from Dutch, French, and English sources or from other Native groups, perhaps in anticipation of a conflict with the English. When King Philip's War broke out in 1675 the Native enemies of the English were well supplied with arms and had been fighting constantly against their Native enemies. On the other hand, English forces were woefully unprepared for woodland fighting against highly mobile, well-armed, and experienced Native adversaries.

In New England the English were trained to defend against a foreign European invader (Dutch or French) or a Native attack on their settlements. Local trainbands were trained and equipped to fight a European style of warfare against a European enemy in open terrain. When Metacom's allied bands began to attack English townships in Plymouth Colony and Massachusetts Bay Colony the colonial leadership reacted by sending companies or regiments of foot soldiers and a few dragoons levied from the local trainband to relieve the threatened towns. When these same units went to pursue Metacom they became subject to ambush and were unprepared to fight an enemy who generally refused to battle on open ground. If the Native forces did fight the English on open ground it was usually because they had vastly superior numbers and could employ tactics advantageous to them. The English (primarily soldiers from Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth) suffered very high casualties in the first months of the war because of their inexperience.

Following a string of defeats the English began to modify their organization, weapons, and tactics based on their experiences in the field. When the war began, the General Court at Boston declared:

Whereas it is found by experience that troopers & pikemen are of little use in the present war wth the Indians, now, for the improvement of them to more or better advantage...all troopers shall forthwith furnish themselves wth carbines and ammunition...and also be liable to be impressed...to serve as foot soldiers during the said warr...and all pikemen are hereby required forth with to furnish themselves wth fire armes.⁵⁵

All pikemen and a large part of the Massachusetts Bay cavalry were to be trained and deployed as infantry. The Commissioners of the United Colonies adopted a policy in November 1675 of splitting their armed forces between infantry and mounted troops consisting of “a Thousand souldiers whereof 500 to be Dragoones or troopers with longe Armes.”⁵⁶ English commanders quickly learned that mounted units were best suited for a war against the New England Native forces because of their mobility and by February 1676 Massachusetts Bay rescinded their earlier orders disbanding mounted units which they “found by experience to be very serviceable and necessary.”⁵⁷

The role of the mounted Massachusetts militia who participated in the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut could best be described as dragoons. A dragoon referred to a mounted infantryman trained to travel on horseback but to fight on foot. The horse allowed units to move quickly within a mile or so of the enemy before they dismounted to engage the enemy on foot. Dragoons were armed with “long armes” such as a carbine or musket (although they carried pistols and swords as well) and buff coats were usually substituted for armor.⁵⁸ As early as 1673, the Connecticut “Grand Committee for Ordering the Militia” stipulated the following regulations for equipping dragoons:

⁵⁵ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff., ed. *Records of the Governor and Company of The Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston: William White, 1853). P. V:26.

⁵⁶ David Pulsifer, Ed. *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England* (Boston, MA: William White, 1859). P. II:365.

⁵⁷ Shurtleff. *Records of Massachusetts Bay*. Pp. V: 70-71.

⁵⁸ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. P. 2:270.

...each dragoone be provided with a good sword and belt, and serviceable musket or kirbine, with a shott powch and powder and bullitts, viz: one pownd of powder made into cartiridges fit for his gunn, and three pownd of bulletts fit for their guns, or pistol bulletts; and a horss to expedite their march.⁵⁹

Dragoons are universally described as “little more than infantry on horseback” and dragoon units employed by the army of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus were used “like Horse-men: but they fight on foot.”⁶⁰ In a European battlefield context a dragoon was a mounted soldier capable of fighting on horseback but who was mounted primarily so as to reach the battlefield quickly, and then dismounted to fight as a foot soldier. In Robert Ward's *Animadversions of Warre* (1639) dragoon units were described as:

no lese than a foote company, consisting of Pikes and Muskets, only of their quicker expedition they are mounted upon horses. they are of greate use for the guarding of passages and fordes, in regard of their swiftnesse they may prevent the enemies foote, and gaine places of advantage.⁶¹

Native enemy and allied forces were equipped with flintlock muskets, pistols, bows, short spears, knives, hatchets and powder horns or pouches in which to carry shot and powder. Native forces were very mobile and not tied to supply lines as their English adversaries. Native men would carry a few pounds of dried corn meal in the field that they mixed with water for a quick meal. They could also supplement this meager fare by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants, seeds, and tubers.

Colonial forces carried muskets (primarily flintlocks if they were operating in the field), as well as swords, hatchets, and knives, and powder horns and pouches. Full musket calibers, regardless if they were a flintlock, matchlock, snaphaunce, or wheelock, usually ranged between .60 and .70 caliber and had four foot barrels. Carbines usually

⁵⁹ Trumbull, *Colony of Connecticut*. Pp. 2:207-208.

⁶⁰ Richard Brzezinski, *The Army of Gustavus Adolphus: Cavalry* (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 1993). Pp. 14-15.

⁶¹ John Tincey and Angus McBride. *Soldiers of the English Civil War: Cavalry* (London, UK: Osprey Publishing, 1990). P. 20.

had a barrel length of between two and three feet and usually ranged between .50 and .60 caliber. Regardless of the ignition system (match, flint, wheelock) smoothbore weapons had an effective range of 50-75 yards for shorter barreled weapons and a range of 100-150 yards for longer barreled weapons. Pistols, with calibers most often between .45 and -.55 caliber, only had an effective range between 30 and 50 yards. Colonial forces, particularly dragoons, were very dependent on supply lines if on garrison duty. English dragoons could carry enough food and supplies for themselves and their horses for about two weeks, the usual length of time for most military expeditions.

III. Research Methods

The primary objective of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan will be to identify prospective battlefield actions and related sites through a synthesis of historical research, land use history, Native and Yankee oral traditions, and previously collected archeological material culture.. Specific steps involved in this process include:

- Research the battlefield event(s);
- Develop a land-use history;
- Develop a list of battlefield defining natural and cultural features;
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield;
- Locate, document, and photograph features;
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle;
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield;
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

The combined information will be used to model the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area and Core Areas in preparation for a future battlefield survey

The research design consists of five tasks, which often occurred simultaneously:

- 1) analysis of primary sources to construct a timeline and location(s) of battlefield events and sites with anticipated archeological signatures;
- 2) military terrain analysis of the project area utilizing KOCOA;
- 3) detailed land use history of both Native and European occupations before and after the event;
- 4) a visual inspection of the prospective core areas and a viewshed analysis of the entire study area;
- 5) hold regular project update meetings to keep the public informed and to secure landholder permissions;
- 6) integrate battlefield terrain, and historical, and artifactual data into Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to reconstruct battlefield events and sites across time and space.

Analysis of Primary Sources

The first step in the historical research process was to reconstruct a comprehensive military and cultural history of the Falls Fight battle by identifying the various primary accounts that provide information on battlefield events or sites. Once these accounts were identified they were analyzed to assess the quality, veracity, relevancy, and significance of the material they contained. Very few primary sources survive which discuss the fighting but all identified accounts were written at the time of the battle or shortly after such as court cases later filed with combatant testimony. These critical accounts were written by individuals who participated in the battle or by period historians who may interviewed battle participants. Important consideration has been given to assess the veracity of individual accounts including: determining who the author was (battle participant or chronicler), why the account was written (e.g. field report, history, colonial records), how long following the engagement the account written, and if the information included in the account could be corroborated by other sources. *Atlas.ti*,

literary software, was used to systematically code, compare and arrange information from a wide range of sources, primary and secondary, regarding the Falls Fight. Using optical character recognition and applying a wide variety of search terms to these digitized documents, *Atlas.ti*, is able to quickly query any given term and highlight all instances of that term in any given document.

Some of the primary sources consulted in the course of this research include the narratives of Johnathan Wells (Falls Fight soldier), William Hubbard (chronicler), Increase Mather (chronicler) and Roger L'Estrange (chronicler) have proved important insight into the sequence of battle events, physical terrain features and troop engagements (Native and English). Manuscript collections containing letters to and from officials of the Massachusetts (Military Series) and Connecticut War Councils (1 Colonial War & Indian Series) also provide important details of the battle including mortality rates, movements of Colonial and Native forces, logistics, supplies, military compensation and requests for inter-colony support. The letters written by John Russell of Hadley who was a central figure reporting on the events leading up to and during the battle were important sources of information. His letters to the Connecticut War Council in the weeks before the battle provided valuable information on the disposition of Native communities and the vengeful mood the local Colonists were in, intending to attack the Native encampments at the falls in spite of Connecticut's wishes to delay any action to see how the peace process unfolded. Other official records include Newport Court records that provide the testimony of captured Native (Narragansett/Coweeseet) men who were at the Falls Fight and subsequently executed for their role in the battle.

The various town histories written by Sylvester Judd provide additional details on the Falls Fight. Sylvester Judd was responsible for organizing the Connecticut Colonial

War Series at the Connecticut State Library which also contained the John Russell letters. Judd was also responsible for assembling the Judd Collection at the Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts which contains copies of documents that no longer exist. Judd also interviewed many local people who were descended from many of the English soldiers who fought at the Falls Fight and collected a number of oral traditions.

These and other sources were deconstructed to identify defining cultural and physical features of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut battlefield including Native villages and encampments, battle events and locations, movements of combatants on the battlefield and avenues of approach and retreat. An integrated analysis of all relevant primary and secondary accounts provided a much richer and more complex narrative of the battle and greatly assisted in refining the scope and scale of the battlefield study areas.

Archival and Archeological Collections

One important aspect of the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation project was to investigate relevant archeological and material cultural collections attributed to the Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut region. This included materials belonging to museum collections, university archives, local historical societies, antiquarian collections, and artifacts recovered by local collectors.

The vast majority of surviving collections of objects from the Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut region consist of lithic materials and aboriginal pottery dating to the late Archaic and Woodland Periods. They reflect the thousands of years of continuous occupation that has occurred in this area. Objects related to the May 19, 1676 battle have been reported have been collected in the years since the battle but

they are no longer in existence or the provenience information has been lost. The Carnegie Public Library in Montague, MA was the only repository in which documented battle related objects have been identified. In the Carnegie Public Library collection are materials attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA which were donated by James M. Chapman, John Jamison, Edward Campbell, Henry Barton, Robin Scully, Kevin Collins, and Stephen Bassett. A human skull and leg bone found in the Riverside area by Lewis William Hodgman on February 8, 1921 was on display at the Carnegie until they were stolen from the display cases around 2010. Contact period items that are attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA which may be battle related include two musket balls, one copper ring, pottery shards, projectile points and a European gun flint.

The public has been encouraged to share their personal collections with the MPMRC research team if they believe their artifacts to be related to the battle or if they were collected in the local region. On several occasions visitors who attended the Public Updates brought lithic materials with them for identification. During the Pocumtuck Homelands Festival a dozen visitors brought substantial lithic artifact collections to share for identification but none of the objects were determined to be of the Contact Period, most of which dated to the middle or late Woodland Period [Appendix V – Results of Public Outreach; Figure 4].

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA

The American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, MA no longer houses any artifacts associated with King Philip's War or 17th Century Native and Colonial objects. All artifacts were sent to the Smithsonian in the early 1900's for safe keeping. Associated King Philip's War manuscript collections such as the *Curwen Family Papers*, *John*

Barton Account Book, Edward Randolph Report on New England 1676, Russell Family Sermons and the *Shepard Family Papers* were examined but no relevant particulars on the Battle of Great Falls was obtained from these sources.

Beneski Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, MA

A large amount of artifacts from the Turner's Falls region, and Gill, MA in particular, were sent to Amherst College to be housed at what was originally known as the Gilbert Museum. After several conversations with the Director of the Beneski Museum of Natural History and NAGPRA Coordinator it was learned that much of the collection had been lost throughout the 20th century and only a fraction of the original collection remains. Those that survive have problematic provenience information. There is a detailed, published, "Catalogue of the Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics" which describes all the objects in the collections and where they were collected. This also contains inventory numbers which are no longer accurate. This collection was researched for items from the Turner's Falls vicinity and all of those objects identified appeared to be of the pre-contact period.

Carnegie Library, Turners Falls, MA

The Barton Collection (of Henry and Lemuel Barton) remains in locked cabinets on the top floor of the Carnegie Library. Linda Hickman, the Library Director, was extremely helpful and greatly assisted in our research process. A 1980 pamphlet *Artifacts Loft at Carnegie Library* associated with the collection states that the "Indian Artifacts" on display were collected in the Turners Falls area by James M. Chapman, John Jamison, Edward Campbell, Henry Barton, Robin Scully, Kevin Collins, and Stephen Bassett. A

human skull and leg bone found in the Riverside area by Lewis William Hodgman on February 8, 1921 were also associated with the collection. Contact period items that are attributed to the Riverside section of Gill, MA are still on display include two musket balls, one copper ring, pottery shards, projectile points and a gun flint. These items may be related to the May 19, 1767 Battle of Great Falls.



Figure 3. *Carnegie Public Library collection. [Clockwise from top left] Impacted Musket balls, Cuprous Ring, English gunflint, Local objects on display.*

Deerfield Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library

Library collections were viewed to obtain any additional information regarding the Jonathan Wells manuscript of the Falls Fight, which continues to be the most valuable account of the battle. No manuscript collections viewed contain information on the Falls Fight. Manuscript collections view included: Deerfield MSS, John Wells Papers, Papers of Jonathan Wells, Papers of Thomas Wells, Mary P. Wells Smith Papers, Charles Wells

Papers, Ebenezer Wells Papers, P.V.M.A. Correspondence, Pocumtuck Grant and Surveys 1673-1738.

Deerfield Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Museum

A number of objects associated with King Philip's War are curated at the museum including Sarah Coleman's shoe (ca. 1677; Edwin Bardwell Collection). Sarah was captured during the Hatfield Raid on September 19, 1677 and was eventually ransomed by Benjamin Wait (veteran of the Falls Battle). Seventeenth century glass beads and glass bead fragments likely associated with the Pocumtucks are on display at the museum, along with Native projective points and pottery shards. In 2004, Barbara McMahon Forest and family donated a birch bark mukak, an Abenaki item with an old label identifying it as "Indian Birch Bark Bottle picked up at South Deerfield, Mass after the Bloody Brook Massacre in 1675." The only object that may be connected to the May 19, 1676 battle is a small vial of gunpowder which came from an old carbine discovered in Greenfield, MA in 1896. The provenience is as follows: "Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield."

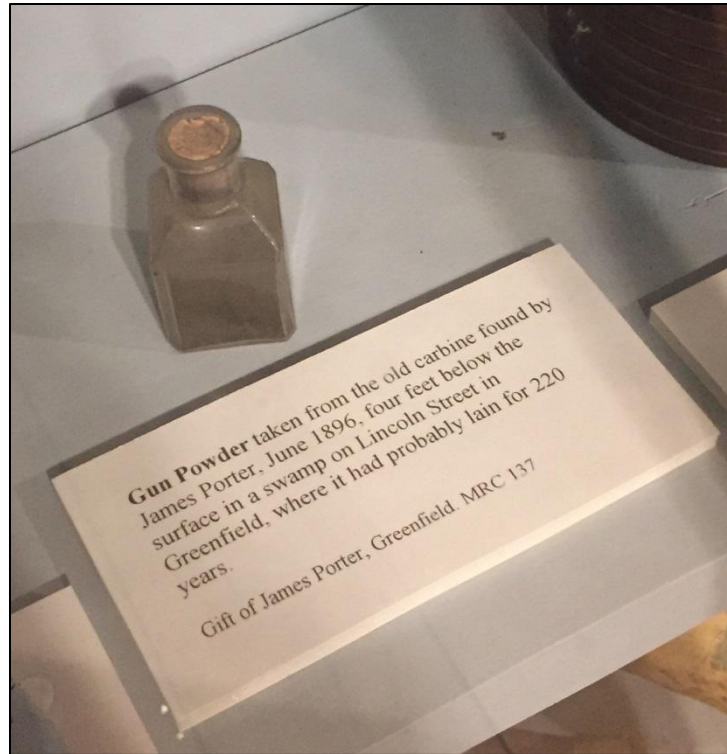


Figure 4. *Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association collection.* A vile reported to contain “Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield.”

Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York

A generous lead was provided by Greg Mott of East Bridgewater, MA, of the King War Club housed at the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York. The 17th century war hardwood club is 24” long and inlaid with brass and shell. The club is thought to have been picked up by Northampton recruit John King whom served with William Turners in the Falls Fight. It is rumored that King had acquired the club on the banks of the Connecticut River.

Gill Historical Commission, Gill, MA

Pam Shoemaker compiled numerous local histories, accounts, oral traditions, photographs, and paintings related to the Great Falls battle, the Riverside neighborhood,

and of the Great Falls. Several important landscape photographs of the area known as Stoughton's Farm from which English forces approached. No existing non-burial related contact period artifacts have yet been identified in Gill, MA or the Riverside neighborhood. This has been the case further downriver on the islands.

Harvard Peabody Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Cambridge, MA

Meredith Vasta, former Collections Manager of the MPMRC and current Collections Steward at the PMAE compiled an inventory list of artifacts in the collection attributed to Franklin County, Massachusetts, and specifically the towns within the vicinity of Turner's Falls. This yielded a number of lithic objects but nothing that was clearly attributed to the contact period.

Institute for American Indian Studies, Washington, CT

The Rogers Collection at the Institute of American Indian Studies was recently documented as it was known to contain artifacts from the vicinity of Turner's Falls. The objects were primarily lithic in nature but also contained wampum which may indicate late woodland through contact period attributions. Many of these objects were recovered from Gill, MA and specifically in the Riverside neighborhood and the Fort Hill landform.

Nolumbeka Project, Non-profit, Western Massachusetts

The Nolumbeka Project shared copies of relevant site reports for the Mackin Sand Bank Site, numerous inventory lists and overviews of museum and university collections highlighting objects attributed to the Great Falls region. Inventory lists and photographs of local collections were also included along with place-name research. The Nolumbeka

Project members have provided substantial knowledge and insight into the Native and Colonial history of the area as well as many archeological sites in the area, along with a number of 17th Century artifacts recovered from the hill directly across the falls on the Gill side, immediately west of the Falls Bridge River, including kaolin pipe stems, musket balls, and Native ceramics.



Figure 5. *Artifacts from the Nolumbuka Project Collection. [Clockwise from Top Left] Lead Shot; Woodland Period Pottery Sherds; Woodland Period Rim Fragment; Kaolin Pipe Fragments*

Northfield Mount Hermon School, Northfield, MA

On May 20, 2015 Peter Weiss, the librarian of the Northfield Mount Hermon School was contacted in search of the Roswell Field Collection. Weiss stated that the Roswell Field Collection currently at the high school consists only of fossils and that there are no domestic Native or Colonial artifacts.

Peabody Museum at Yale University, New Haven, CT

The collection holdings have been searched. Identifiable 17th century items (both Native and European) and battlefield associated items are very limited – most of the collection consists of lithic materials. A summary list of collections viewed at institution includes: Fragment of soapstone vessel, Indian, Turners Falls, MA; Lancehead of black flint with very simple tang and bards, Northfield, MA; Large flint fragment, Turners Falls, MA (collectors not identified).

Springfield Science Museum, Springfield

The Springfield Science Museum had been contacted numerous times over the course of this grant (last formal request submitted by Kevin McBride August 7, 2015), but has not yet given permission to view their collections. The comparative collections that were formally requested to view include Fort Hill/Long Hill Site in Springfield, MA and the Bark Wigwams Site in Northampton, MA. The Collections committee was to further consider our request October 1, 2015; response pending. A summary list of collections on interest at institution include: Fort Hill/Long Hill Site in Springfield, MA and the Bark Wigwams Site in Northampton, MA

Terrain Analysis & KOCOA Evaluation

Terrain analysis is a critical aspect of battlefield surveys, so much so that the NPS ABPP require all grant recipients to use KOCOA (Key terrain, Observation, Cover and concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of approach), a military terrain model the U.S. Army developed to evaluate the military significance of terrain associated with a battlefield. By studying the military applications of the terrain using KOCOA, a battlefield historian or

archeologist can identify the landscape of the battlefield and develop a basis for judging the merits and flaws of battle accounts. Table 1 includes the critical defining features identified for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. KOCOA components include:

Key Terrain and Decisive Terrain: Key Terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission.

Observation and Fields of Fire: Observation is the condition of weather and terrain that allows a force to see friendly and enemy forces, and key aspects of the terrain. Fields of Fire are areas in which a weapon or group of weapons may cover and fire into from a given position.

Cover and Concealment: Cover is protection from enemy's fire (e.g. palisade, stone wall, brow of a hill, wooded swamp), and Concealment is protection from observation and surveillance (e.g. ravines, swamps, intervening hill or wood).

Obstacles: Obstacles are any features that prevent, restrict, or delay troop movements. Obstacles can be natural, manmade, or a combination of both and fall into two categories: existing (such as swamps, rivers, dense wood, town or village) and reinforcing (placed on a battlefield through military effort).

Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal: An avenue of approach is the route taken by a force that leads to its objective or to key terrain in its path. An Avenue of Withdrawal is the route taken by a force to withdraw from an objective or key terrain.

Table 1. *Critical Defining Features*

Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut: ABPP Phase I

Name	Location	Relevance to Battle	Field Comment	KOCOA Analysis	Integrity Assessment	Remarks
Terrain and Topographic Features						
Connecticut River	The CT River runs south from the border with Quebec, Canada and discharges at Old Saybrook, CT. The portion relevant to the battle begins: Lat/Long Points: South 42.563015, - 72.556390; North 42.601187, - 72.545404	The portion of the CT River beginning south at Deerfield and running north to Gill served as a major obstacle to English and Native forces	Substantial Industrial development around the towns of Gill and Montague, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacle (English & Native), Avenue of retreat & approach (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Deerfield Plains	Western side of the Connecticut River, approx. 2.5 miles.	English forces traveled north through Deerfield Plains on their approach to the Deerfield River	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Deerfield River	Forms a boundary between present-day Deerfield and Greenfield. It is a tributary of the Connecticut River.	English forces need to cross the Deerfield River to proceed north to Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. There were at least two fords across the river.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Cheapside Neighborhood	A neck of land on the north bank of the Deerfield River abutted by the CT River to the east and the Green River to the west.	A Native observation outpost and possible fortification was established on this neck of land which forced the English to cross the Deerfield River further to the west. Native forces were alerted to the noise of horses and mobilized on the early morning of May 19, 1676 but did not encounter English forces.	Moderate Residential Development, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (Native), Obstacles, Fortified Place	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area

Petty Plain	Located north of the Deerfield River and west of the Green River	English forces forded the Deerfield River and crossed Petty Plain towards the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
Green River	A tributary of the Deerfield River that runs north through the Town of Greenfield, MA.	English forces forded the Green River south of Smead Brook. Captain Turner would later be killed in action during the English retreat while leading his men back across the Green River.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area
White Ash Swamp	White Ash Swamp is fed by Cherry Rum Brook and runs contiguous to Route 2. It is approx. 5 mile northwest of the Connecticut River.	English forces likely maneuvered north of White Ash Swamp before dismounting from their horses before Fall River. During the English retreat Native forces held the swamp and decimated fleeing English. One group of English attempted to cut through the swamp and were killed or captured.	Low Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Fall River	A tributary of the Connecticut River which empties just below the Great Falls.	English forces dismounted and left their horses and a small guard west of Fall River. The main force crossed Fall River and continued east.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Pisgah Mountain, SW Slope	Dominant landform in the area rising 715' (218 m) above the surrounding landscape.	English forces gathered on the southwestern slope of Pisgah Mountain within site of the Peskeompskut encampment.	Moderate Residential Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Observation (English), Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area
Peskeompskut	A small neck of land immediately east of the Great Falls.	The site of the Native encampment attacked and destroyed by English forces on the morning of May 19, 1676.	Moderate Residential & Industrial Development, Open Space, Wooded, Public Roads	Key Terrain, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach & Retreat (English & Native), Cover & Concealment (Native)	Location, setting, feeling, association, material culture	Battle of Great Falls Study Area & Core Area

Land Use Research

Seventeenth Century New England battlefields, including those associated with King Philip's War are unlike any other battlefields in American history. Compared to American Revolutionary War or Civil War battlefields, 17th Century battlefields tend to be harder to place in space, often have far fewer battle-related objects, and the battlefields

often contain hundreds if not thousands of non-battle related objects as a result of 350 years of land use subsequent to the battle. It is often very challenging for battlefield archaeologists to distinguish battle-related artifacts from later objects without understanding the nature and extent of post-battle land use. Therefore, a Land Use Study should be conducted in anticipation of future archaeology surveys to serve as a frame of reference and context for interpreting the varied artifacts that will be recovered from battlefield archaeology surveys.

Information for the Land Use Study will be collected from deeds, town records, historical newspapers, maps, photographs, local histories, books, various periodicals, oral history and local knowledge and oral tradition and artifact collections from the local area. Preliminary research indicates a light to heavy pattern of land use and occupation over much of the battlefield during the 18th through 20th Centuries. Eighteenth and 19th-century land use and occupation consists of small industrial sites (e.g. saw mill, ice pond) along major streams as well as a few European farmsteads dotting the landscape. Evidence of 20th century and early 21st century land use and occupation within the battlefield Study Area varied from low- impact activities such as farming to high density residential development in the Riverside area and the eastern section of Gill Center.

Regardless of the level of impact effecting the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area, battlefield archaeology surveys in high density residential areas associated with the Pequot War era (1636-1637) Battle of Mistick Fort nonetheless recovered dozens of battle-related artifacts in undisturbed contexts indicating that even within some of the most seemingly impacted and disturbed contexts portions of the intact battlefield still remain. Navigating through the large amounts of non- Seventeenth Century materials deposited on a battlefield site and

distinguishing them from King Philip's War-related objects certainly pose challenges but they can be overcome through careful analysis in the laboratory.

Visual Inspection & Viewshed Analysis

Windshield surveys were conducted adjacent to potentially significant properties within the project study area thought to be areas where battle actions took place. As permissions to these properties had not been obtained all inspections were done by windshield or stops along public access areas. If landholder permission was granted then a visual inspection of that property consisted of a walkover of the land with the owner to gain information on the locations of possible below-ground disturbance (i.e. septic systems, utility lines), while noting landscape features that had either physical or cultural attributes that denoted possible inferences to the battlefield. These discussions with landowners were helpful in reconstructing recent land use history.

A number of Viewshed Models were developed using elements of KOCOA and GIS. Identified cultural and terrain features will be geo-referenced and integrated into cumulative Viewshed models. A Viewshed is a raster-based map in which from each cell, a straight line is interpolated between a source point and all other cells within an elevation model to find whether or not the cell exceeds the height of the three dimensional line at that point. Therefore, the result of each calculation is either positive or negative. If the result is positive (1) then there is a direct line of sight, if it is negative

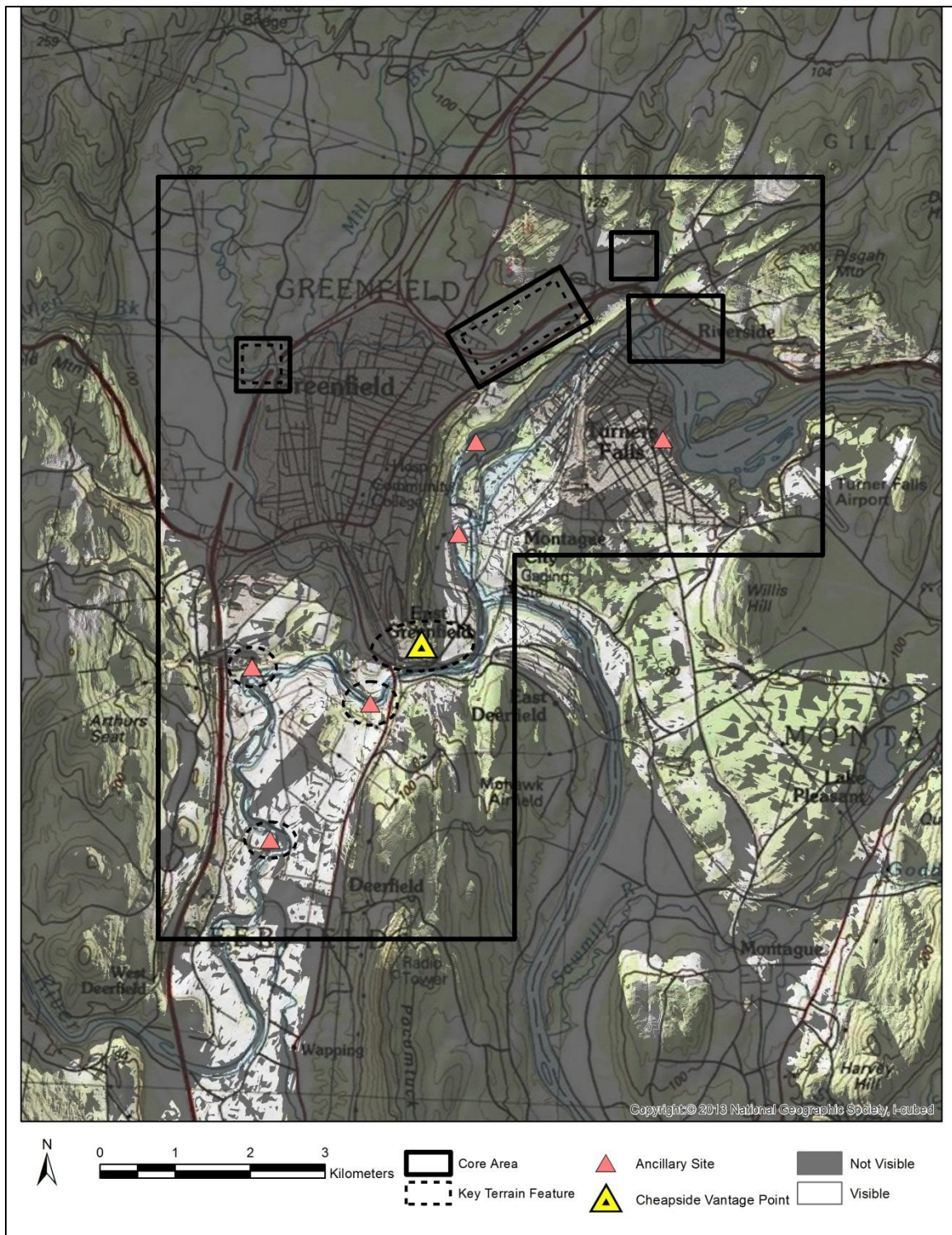


Figure 6. Viewshed Model from the “Cheapside” Key Terrain Feature. Darkened (pink) areas are not visible from the vantage point of Cheapside.

(0), there is no line of sight.⁶² The resultant Viewshed Model illustrate locations that could be seen from elevations at different locations within the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area including “Cheapside”, the hill above the Peskeompskut village and other locations [Figure 3]. Viewsheds provide information and context on what the Colonial and Native combatants could see from various elevations how this might have influenced their actions. These models were very useful for conceptualizing the battlefield landscape and identifying key terrain, avenues of approach and retreat, obstacles and areas of concealment and observation.

Public Meetings and Landholder Permissions

Landholder Permission: The first step to gaining Landholder Permissions was to hold public informational meetings eventually to be followed by letters, brochures, landowner informational packet mailings, make phone calls, and face-to face contacts. Consortium members with assistance from MPMRC staff will focus on obtaining land owner permissions between October-December 2015, particularly those landowners whose property likely lies within Core Areas of the battlefield. Prior to the fieldwork phase of the project regular meetings with landholders will be held to update them on the overall progress of the project, and discuss any ongoing concerns they still had. Permissions will continue to be sought as knowledge of the Core Areas of the battlefield is refined from preliminary fieldwork. The most successful efforts to obtain landowner permissions are through personal contacts and relationship building to build trust among landowners. Subsequently, landholders responded positively and granted permission. By

⁶² David Wheatley and Mark Gillings. *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: The Archeological Applications of GIS* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2002).

the end of the field season in December of 2012, almost all of the landholders in the core area had granted permission to conduct fieldwork on their properties without stipulation, including the landholders whose permissions were considered critical to the success of the project. The English Withdrawal Battlefield Core Area/District constitutes a total of 85 acres (approximately 34 hectares). The final distribution of battle-related and domestic artifacts for these sites is used to delineate site boundaries, all of which fall within the surveyed lots.

Geographic Information Systems

To establish provenience throughout the battlefield Study and Core Areas in preparation for future survey work, a combination of methods will be used. The first step in establishing provenience will be to develop a procedure so that all cultural and natural and features identified within battlefield Study and Core Areas can be assigned a spatial reference using a Global Positioning System GPS. A conceptual 1-meter grid will be established over 2 ft. contour base maps within the battlefield Study Area with the intent of eventually identifying portions of the grid in real space through GPS (depending on landholder permissions), which can be used a later date to facilitate future field work.

A Global Positioning System (GPS) is a series of orbiting satellites such that at any given time and place at least four are within range of any position on Earth's surface. By determining the distance from the four satellites, the receiver can calculate its precise location in horizontal and vertical space in a process called trilateration. Current technology now provides the means to achieve pinpoint location in real-time with a GPS yielding up to ten centimeter accuracy and sometimes even less. However, in reality there are many factors such as tree cover, aspect of availability, and position of satellites that

sometimes caps accuracy to a five meter range, depending on conditions and the time of day. Property boundaries and cultural features can often be obtained from shapefiles provided by the planning departments of the various towns. These geo-referenced shapefiles or whatever part of the shapefile will be relevant to the battlefield Study and Core Areas will be imported into the GPS and used to locate natural and cultural features in real space.

IV. Results of Historical Research

Battle Narrative and Sequence

Constructing a battlefield narrative and timeline for the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut in anticipation of a battlefield archeological survey consisted of a synthesis of historical research, material culture analyses, and a cultural landscape study. The results of this battle narrative are included in Chapter VI “Historical Synthesis.”

Timeline

A detailed analysis of the sequence of events (informing the historical context and the battle), movements and people associated is presented in Table 2. These events, movements and actions were assumed to have a unique archeological signature across time and space.

Table 2. Battlefield Events Timeline

<i>Time-Date</i>	<i>Action</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Signature</i>
10 March 1676	Solider-Indian captive Thomas Reede relates to those at Hadley that Natives are planting at Deerfield (judge 300 acres) and “dwell at the Falls on both sides of the river-are a considerable number, yet most are old men and women” and about 70 warriors.	Deerfield; Falls	High: Village Site, Domestic Objects, Military Objects.
14 May 1676	Natives drive four-score horses and cattle away to Deerfield Meadow.	Deerfield Meadow	Low: Dropped equipment/ personal items
Thursday May 18: 8 PM	150-160 men from Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield assemble at Hatfield and department ca. 8 PM.	Hatfield	Low: Dropped equipment/ personal items
Thursday-Friday May 18-19: 8 PM-4 AM	The English force march 20 miles crossing the Deerfield and Green Rivers, and halt a little west of the Fall River, about a half a mile from the Indian village at Peskeompskut at the head of the falls where they left their horses with a small guard	Deerfield River, Greenfield River, Fall River,	Dropped equipment/ personal items
Friday May 19: 4-5 AM	At dawn the English force crossed the Fall River climbing a steep hill moving eastward to the slope of the hill overlooking the Native village to the south camp.	Fall River, steep hill to east, stretching to the east	Dropped Equipment/ Personal items
Friday May 19: 5-8 AM	English approach and fire into wigwams. Some Native defenders engage the English and others run and swim across river. Some canoe away and others seek shelter under the banks of the river and killed. The English burn wigwams, destroy Native ammunition and provisions and war materials, and loot the village	Riverside area and along banks of river	Impacted musket balls, concentrations of small diameter shot, dropped and broken equipment, Native domestic objects

Friday May 19: 8 AM	As English return to assembly area to recover horses and rumor spreads that Philip and 1,000 men coming against the English. Panic spreads among the English panic.	Horse tie down area	Dropped equipment/ personal items
Friday May 19: 8-9 AM	As English mount horses they are attacked from Native forces from the village on the south side of the Connecticut River. Ilagethe rear and flanks between horse tie down area and White Ash Swamp	Horse tie down area to White Ash Swamp	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Friday May 19: 9AM -12PM	English panic and split into 4-6 groups in their effort to escape and continue to be attacked along route of retreat. Native firing from ambushes to the front of the English set along the White Ash Swamp and attack the flanks and rear of the English column.	Trail/path to ford at confluence of Green River and Cherry Run Brook, south and north of White Ash Swamp	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Friday May 19: 12PM – 6PM	English forces under the command of Captain Turner follow Cherry Run Brook towards the Green River. While crossing the ford, Captain Turner is shot by Native soldiers. Lieutenant Holyoke takes command, draws the men into close order, and retreats towards Hadley where they arrive that evening.	Green River Ford	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items
Saturday afternoon 20 May 1676	One English soldier arrives to Hadley. Other soldiers not wounded were reported to be wandering the West Mountains.	West mountains	Low / None
Saturday Night 20 May 1676	One English soldier arrives at Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None

Morning Sunday 21 May 1676	Well reaches Muddy Brook, left the brook and entered into a plain and reaches Hatfield.	Hatfield	Low / None
Sunday 21 May 1676	Two English soldiers arrive to Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None
Morning Monday 22 May 1676	One English soldier arrives to Hadley.	Hadley	Low / None
Afternoon Monday 22 May 1676	Noon, Mr. Atherton arrives to Hadley. Following the course of the river Atherton reaches Hatfield.	Hadley / Hatfield	Low / None
Night Monday 22 May 1676	Scouts find that “the enemy abide still in the places where they were on both sides of the river and in the Islands, and fires in the same place where our men had burnt the wigwams.” Also reported that their fort is close to Deerfield River.	Deerfield River	Low / None
30 May 1676	700 Natives attack Hatfield and burn 12 houses and barns, drove away many cattle and kill five English men.	Hatfield	Impacted and dropped musket balls, dropped equipment and personal items

V. Synthesis: Identification of Probable Battlefield Areas

Prospective battlefield and ancillary site locations were identified by analyzing and integrating information from the following sources; primary accounts, local oral history, local and institutional artifact collections, land records, historical maps, aerial photographs, site visits, archeological excavation and KOCOA analysis.

Historical Synthesis

In April of 1676, Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield were the northernmost English frontier towns on the upper Connecticut River. Settlements in Deerfield and Northfield had been destroyed and abandoned earlier in the war. The Great Falls had become a gathering spot for Native peoples at war with the English and the Native community at Peskeompskut was steadily growing as Native groups through the region arrived to seek shelter and supplies. English settlers in the upriver towns were greatly concerned with the growing Native presence to the north at the falls and the threats it represented advocated Connecticut to take immediate action. At the same time Connecticut was pursuing peace negotiations with the various tribes at the falls and did not want the upriver towns to take unilateral action against the Natives gathered at the falls.

As early as April 6, 1676 Deputy Governor William Leete of Massachusetts Bay wrote to the Connecticut Council at Hartford reporting how “some scouts sent towards Dearefeild” had “discovered sundry wigwags with fires not farre from thence” which was evidence of a growing Native presence to the north.⁶³ Lette further reported receiving “intelligence off three men killed att Hadley where none had so before been donne” along with “intellegience of 1000 of the

⁶³ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 60.

enemies” soldiers which was not confirmed.⁶⁴ On April 25, 1676 Captain William Turner of Hadley wrote the Massachusetts Bay Council requesting clothing and other supplies for his men describing how “the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some has been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want.”⁶⁵ Captain Turner also informed the council of the return of John Gilbert, a soldier of Springfield, who had escaped captivity with new intelligence regarding the location of Native forces.

“There is come into Hadley a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-quarters are at Deerfield.”⁶⁶

Soon after, a group of soldiers under Captain Samuel Holyoke of Springfield captured a Native man on April 27, 1676 near the Connecticut River who claimed that nearly 1,000 Native soldiers were gathered upriver around Squakeag in three forts.⁶⁷ On April 29, 1676 Reverend John Russell of Hadley wrote to both the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut councils with essentially the same information and argued for an offensive against the enemy. He wrote to the Connecticut War Council how:

“...rationall it is to thinke y^t might [illegible] be undertaken [illegible] against them here in conjunction wth what is in other parts it might at such a time sinke thier harts & brake their rage and power; and make them much more reall for peace... The spirite of man wth us are more than ever heightened wth desire & earnestnesse to be going forth against the enemy have bin others moving for liberty & would Some they might obtaine is this night And shall the Lord incline and direct you to order any volunteers to other help hither; they would finde more of o^{rs} than reason would y^t we should spare ready to sayn wth them in the enterprize...”⁶⁸

⁶⁴ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 60.

⁶⁵ Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 168.

⁶⁶ Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

⁶⁷ Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

⁶⁸ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 67.

To the Massachusetts Bay council he described how:

“It is strange to see how much spirit, (more than formerly,) appears in our men to be out against the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants here, would our committees of militia but permit, would be going forth. They are daily moving for it, and would fain have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us that we count we might go forth in the evening and come upon them in the darkness of the same night.”⁶⁹

Russell also mentioned how “intelligence gives us cause to hope that the Mohawks do still retain their old friendship for us and enmity against our enemies. Some proofe of it they have of late in those they slew higher up this River.”⁷⁰ It is unclear when these assaults took place but according to information received from two English allied Natives and one of Quabaug it appears they took place earlier in April.⁷¹ This may have turned the attention of a portion of those Native soldiers to the north and west in anticipation of additional Mohawk attack believing them to be a greater threat than the English.

Around May 13, 1676 Natives soldiers from the Peskeompskut area raided Hatfield Meadows capturing seventy cattle and horses. The animals were herded north to Deerfield meadows and temporarily fenced in before driving them further north to the Native communities at Peskeompskut. This incident enraged English settlers at Hatfield and the other river towns, who had been pressing Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies to attack the upriver Native communities. At this time the English in Hadley received word from from Boston “that they have Certain intelligence from the Eastward y^t the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six of o^r

⁶⁹ Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6; Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 169.

⁷⁰ Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 242.

⁷¹ Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Archives Series. April 25, 1676. Volume 69, Document 6Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 242.

enemies”⁷² Although it is unknown where these attacks took place it is possible that they occurred somewhere near the Peskeompskut region which would have been received as welcome news by the Hadley settlers.

Two days later two English “lads” taken captive during the earlier raid on Hatfield and recently escaped informed the settlers and garrison at Hadley about the whereabouts and disposition of the Native communities at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. On May 15, 1676 Reverend John Russell sent a letter to Secretary John Allyn to the Council of Connecticut in which he detailed the new intelligence that had been recently gathered. Russell relayed word of the Mohawk attacks on “enemy” Native forces. He again told Allyn of “ye Indians at their fishing place” and how:

They sitt by us secure wthout watch, busy at their harvest worke storing themselves with food for a yeer to fight against us and we let theme alonge to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy.⁷³

Russell pressed Connecticut to join the upper river towns in an attack against the Natives gathered at the falls. He also related the information received from Thomas Reed that morning:

“But this morning Providence hath alarm^d us wth another voice & call seeming to Speake to us that the Season is not yet past and that we are necessitated to take hold of it before it be quite gone ffor about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede, a Souldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain: He Relates y^t they are not planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more. Saith further that they will at the falls on both sides of the River; are a Considerable number; yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are both Sides of the River above 60 or 70 fighting men. They are secure high and comfortable boasting of great things they have done and will doe. there is Thomas Eames his daughter and children hardly used: one or two belonging to Medfielde I thinke two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before Last they came down to Hatfield upper meadows have driven away many horses and Catall to the number of fourscore and upward as they judge: many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow: and found the

⁷² CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

⁷³ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

barrs putt up to keepe them in. This being the State of things we hinke the Lord calls us to make some try and what may be done against them suddainly wthout further delay; and therefore the Concurring resolution of men here seems to be to goe out against them too morrow at night so as to be wth them the Lord assisting before breake of day...”

Armed with this new information the militia committees of the upper river towns, along with men from Springfield and Westfield, prepared to attack the Native village at Peskeompsuck. Most of the English in the Hadley area were refugees from the destroyed Northfield, Deerfield and Hatfield settlements and many had friends or family killed, captured, or tortured during the attacks and harbored a great deal of resentment toward the tribes gathered at the falls. The deaths over a hundred English soldiers and settlers in the upper valley contributed to a growing desire of Hadley inhabitants to attack the Native people gathered at Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut. Reed joined Captain Turner’s forces for the planned expedition to the falls.

The Reverend Russell essentially informed Secretary Allyn that the upper river towns were going to take immediate action against the Native encampments around Peskeompskut whether Connecticut was willing to assist or not, and regardless of any ongoing peace negotiations. He added:

It would be strength and rejoycing to us might be favord wth some helpe from yourselves, but if the Lord deny that to us you Cannot or see not your way to assist or goe before us in the undertaking, I thinke or men will goe with suche of or own as we can raise truysting him wth the issue; rather than to sett still and tempt God by doing nothing...⁷⁴

In the final paragraph of the letter Captain Turner, John Lyman, and Isack Graves testified that the English did not know the total number of Natives located around Great Falls and confessed

⁷⁴ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

that “they may be many more for we perceive their number varies and they are going and Coming.”⁷⁵

As the Connecticut Council was being informed of the intended actions of the upper river towns Captain Turner assembled a force comprised of settlers and garrison soldiers from Hatfield (then residing in Hadley), Hadley, Northampton, Springfield, and Westfield (Appendix II – Historical Context: English Order of Battle).⁷⁶ Most of these men, including Turner, had little or no combat experience and some of the men were youths no older than sixteen. By May 18 Turner had assembled 160 settlers and garrison troops at Hatfield.

The inexperienced English were about to face a very experienced and determined enemy of unknown strength and Turner’s force was counting on the element of surprise to even the odds. Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale of Hadley were selected to serve as guides due to their experience and knowledge of the region.⁷⁷ Captain William Turner’s command included Lieutenant Samuel Holyoke, Ensigns Isaiah Toy and John Lyman, Sergeants John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg, accompanied by Reverend Hope Atherton.⁷⁸ Russel had still not received a reply from Connecticut, and the English force under Captain Tuner made preparations to attack the Native village at Peskeompskut with a mounted force of 150-180 Dragoons (mounted infantry).⁷⁹

⁷⁵ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series 1. P. 71.

⁷⁶ On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that “I went to Volenteare against the ingens the 17th of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19th of May in the moaning before sunrise” in *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862) P. 4.

⁷⁷ Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171; Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.

⁷⁸ Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245

⁷⁹ Troop estimates as described in the primary sources: “One hundred and four score” in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; “two or three hundred of them” in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86; “One hundred fifty rank and file” in Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245; “About 150 or 160 mounted men” in Judd. *History of Hadley*. P. 171.

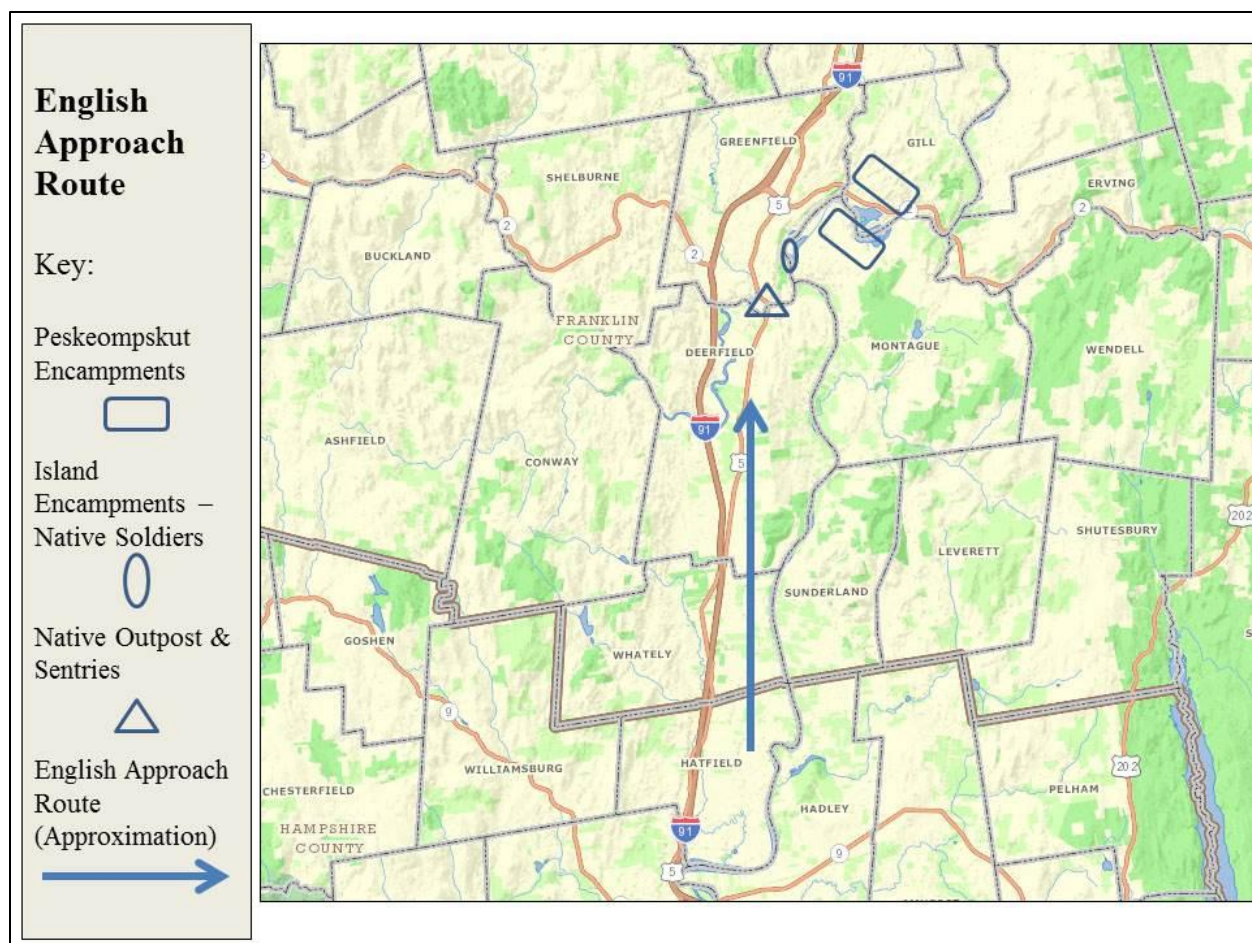


Figure 7. *English Route of Approach to Pocumtuck.*

The encampments around Peskeompskut were located in the vicinity of the Great Falls and consisted of two main villages were located above the falls along the north and south banks of the Connecticut River. The English were aware of the general disposition of enemy forces from intelligence gathered from Thomas Reed a few days earlier who related that “they dwell at the falls on both sides of the River.”⁸⁰ Additional encampments were located a mile south at Cheapside and Smead’s Island and 20 miles further north at Squakeag. According to the Puritan historian Increase Mather, before English commanders left Hadley they “were earnestly admonished” to be aware of an encampment of Native warriors on an island (Smead’s) just

⁸⁰ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 60.

below the falls.⁸¹ The Native communities at Peskeompskut were also forced to defend against Mohawk attacks which would likely come from the northwest or north. Only a month earlier “the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six” of their number.⁸² It is likely that Native soldiers from the several communities encamped at Peskeompskut deployed to the north as well to defend against additional Mohawk attacks.

The English began their march just after dark on May 18. Turner’s force traveled north through Hatfield meadows on the road towards Deerfield staying on the west side of the Connecticut River and remaining east of the Deerfield River.⁸³ The English force likely had prior intelligence of Native sentries positioned at the Deerfield River Ford and Cheapside overlooking the ford. Cheapside is a prominent rock outcrop at the southern end of Rocky Mountain rising several hundred feet above the Deerfield River. Cheapside was used by Native soldiers as an outpost and possible fortification which had a commanding view of the northern Deerfield meadows to the south and two well-known fords to the south.

⁸¹ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

⁸² CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 60.

⁸³ Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.

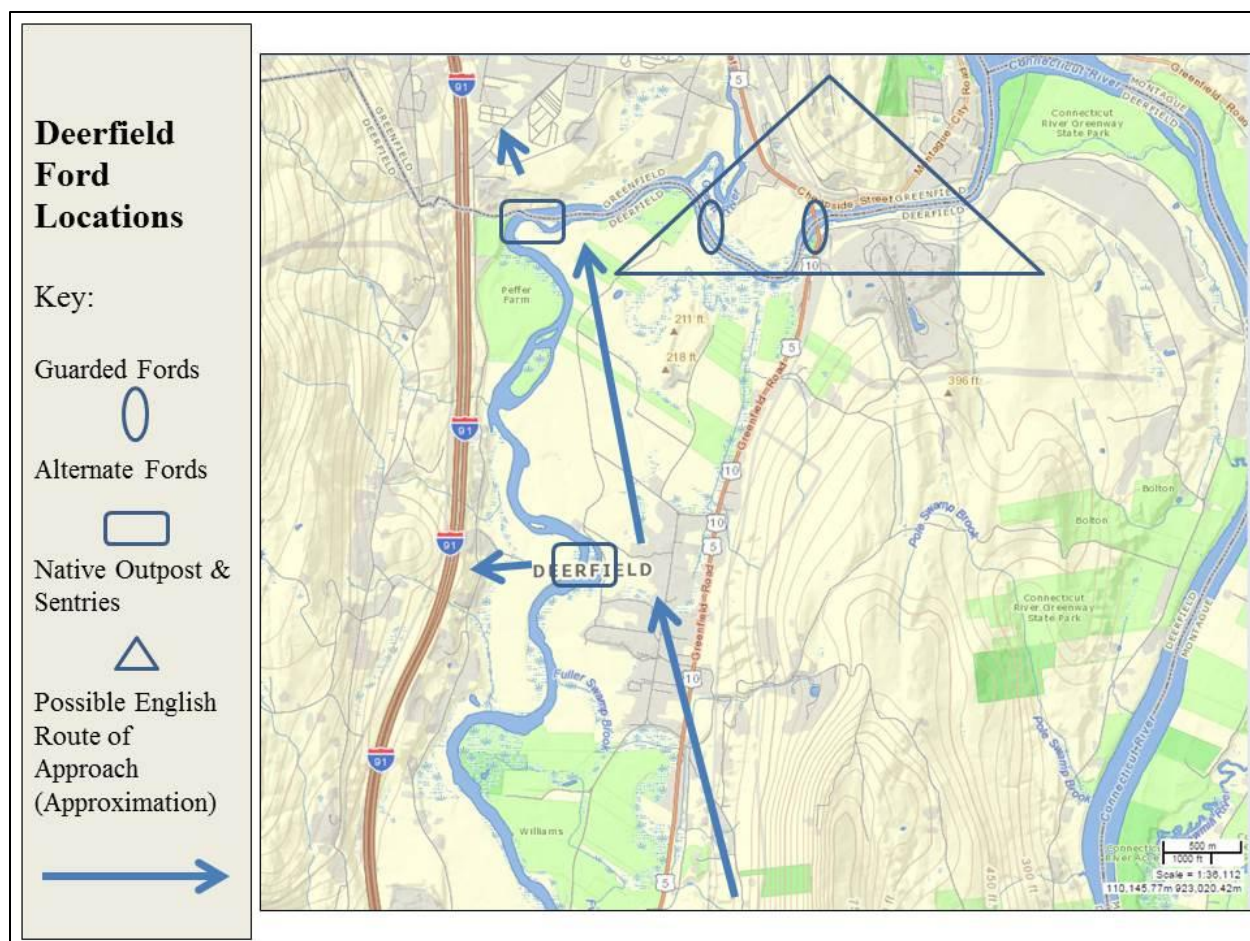


Figure 8. Deerfield Ford Locations.

It is clear that English commanders chose to avoid the ford crossed the Deerfield River further to the west. The historian George Bodge claimed in 1906 that “they crossed the river at the northerly part of the meadow (a late high authority says “at the mouth of Sheldon’s brook”), and thus eluded, the Indian outpost stationed at the place “now called Cheapside,” to guard the usual place of crossing.”⁸⁴ Another possible crossing point was “Red Rock Ford” just west of Deerfield, MA.⁸⁵ The Red Rock Ford was a well-known crossing point on the Deerfield River providing access to the Deerfield meadows. If Turner’s company crossed at that point they

⁸⁴ Bodge. *King Philip’s War*. P. 245.

⁸⁵ David Graci, *Standing on History: Deerfield – Northampton – Hadley – Hatfield – Northfield – Springfield & The Valley Indians* (West Springfield, MA: Class A Graphics, 2006). P. 6; Personal correspondence with Suzanne Flynt, Curator, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, September 2015.

would have avoided any Native sentries at the Deerfield River Ford and at Cheapside. In any case, it appears that the noise of Turner's crossing was detected by Native sentries in the vicinity of the Deerfield Ford but was dismissed as "Moose" crossing the river. Turner's movements were further masked by a thunderstorm.⁸⁶

"These Indians, it is said, overheard the crossing of the troops and turned out with torches, and examined the usual ford, but finding no traces there and hearing no further disturbance, concluded that the noise was made by moose, crossing, and so went back to their sleep."⁸⁷

Once Turner's company had passed the Native sentries deployed around Cheapside and the Deerfield River they continued north through Greenfield Meadow and remained along the west side of the Green River. According to local historian, George Sheldon, Turner's command crossed the Green River "at the mouth of Ash-swamp brook to the eastward, skirting the great swamp."⁸⁸ The Ash-swamp brook Sheldon identified is the present-day Cherry Run Brook which runs in an easterly direction and eventually connects to the White Ash Brook and Swamp. While it is not part of the Ash Swamp drainage, its eastern terminus is only a few hundred yards from the White Ash Brook and Swamp a mile or so to the east. On their approach the English forces could have skirted the swamp either the north or south, but the north affords a much easier route of march as it consists mainly of dry, high plains as the south contains more wetlands, valleys, and mountainous terrain. Any Native sentries or guards in the vicinity, including the encampments at Peskeompskut apparently did not deploy sentries, or were not as alert due to the

⁸⁶ As with the Moose account, the only reference of Turner's Company riding north through a rain storm is found in Bodge's *Soldier's in King Philip's War*. It is possible that it is local Yankee / Native oral history recounted by Sheldon. Again, there is no indication where this account originated. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

⁸⁷ This account of Native soldiers mistaking the noise of the English for a Moose only appears in Bodge's *Soldier's in King Philip's War*. It is possible that it is local Yankee / Native oral history recounted by Sheldon. Again, there is no indication where this account originated. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

⁸⁸ This quote may come from an interview with Sheldon as he was alive until 1916. Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

heavy storm and not having any indication of English activities in the area.⁸⁹ The lack of guards could be due to a reliance on the lookout post at Cheapside to alert them of any danger or it may also be the case that without Connecticut troops and their Native allies operating near Peskeompskut, area felt they had nothing to fear from the inexperienced settlers and garrison troops in their part of the valley.

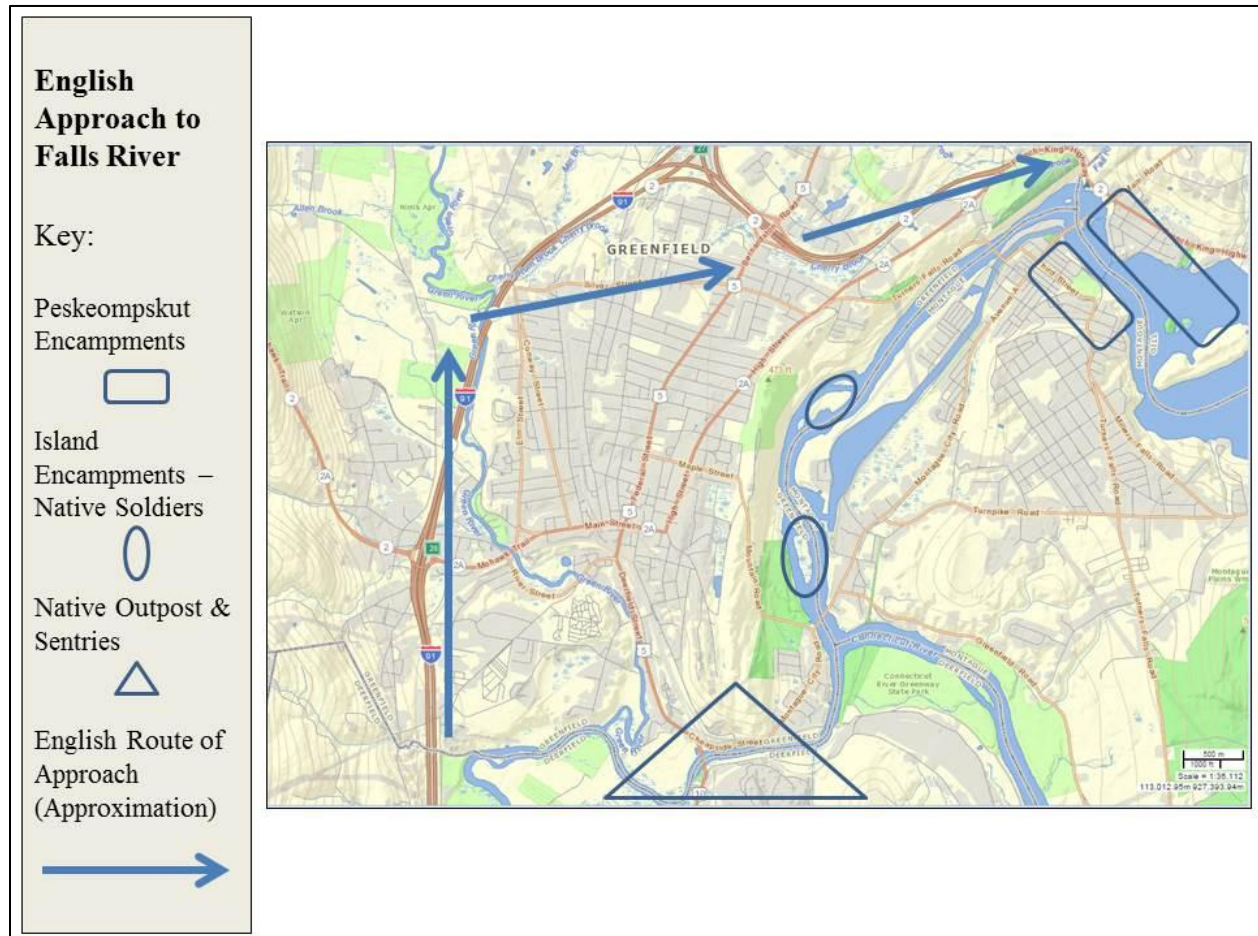


Figure 9. *English Route of Approach to Falls River*

In the midst of a thunderstorm Turner's command continued eastward on horseback along the brook and swamp until they came to a high terrace overlooking Fall River which served as the English assembly point before the attack. The English guides likely knew they were

⁸⁹ L'Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49; Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85; Bodge. *King Philip's War*. P. 245.

in close proximity vicinity of the village at the falls and the mounted troops probabaly likely heard the noise of the falls from the assembly point. According to William Hubbard, “When they came near the Indians rendezvouze, the alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter miles distance.”⁹⁰ Turner stationed an unknown number of soldiers to guard the horses while the rest of the company crossed the Fall River at a ford below the terrace and the English ascended the steep slope on the east side of the river to the hill above.

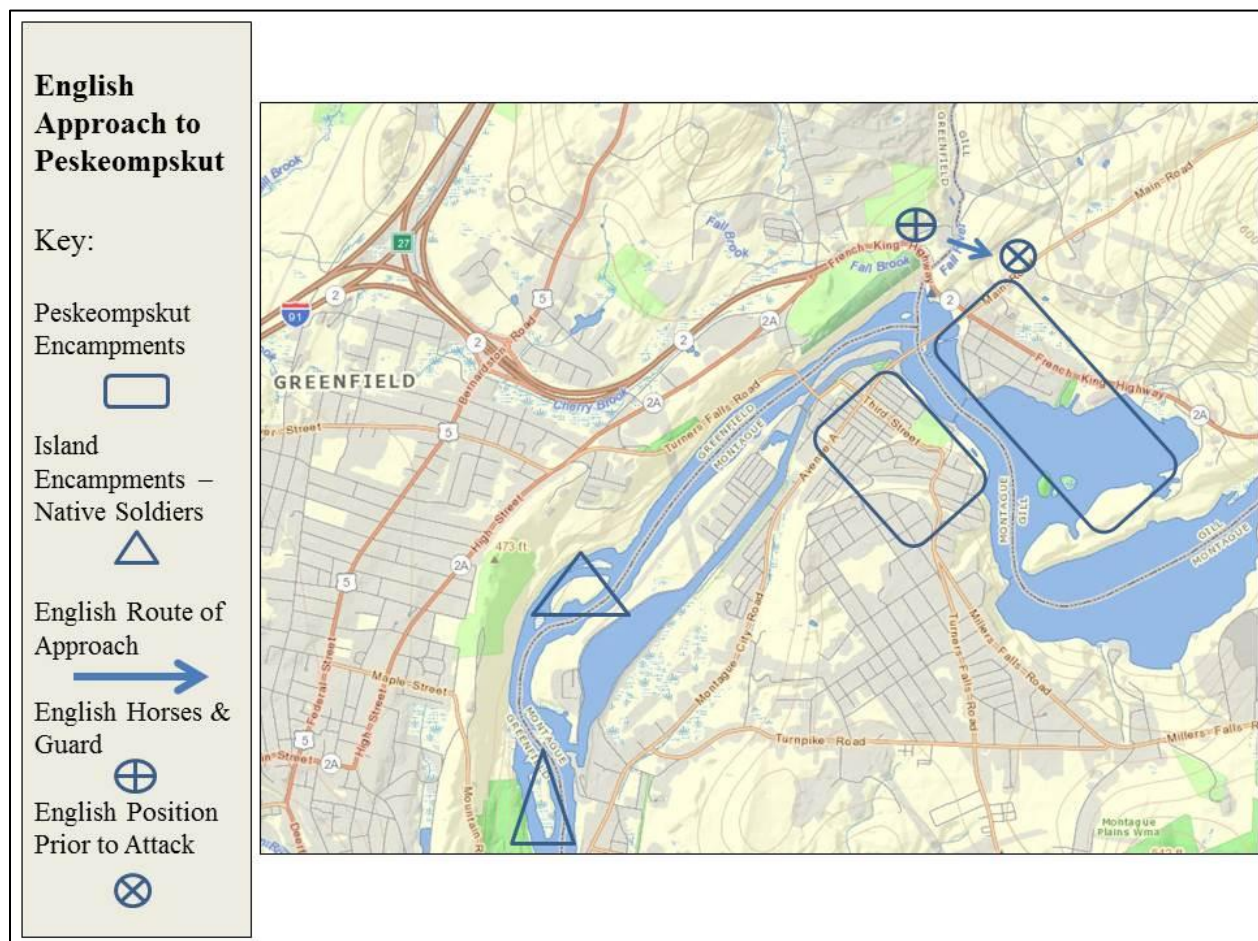


Figure 10. *English Route of Approach to Peskeompskut.*

The English gathered their forces on the slope of a high hill now overlooking one of the encampments at Peskeompskut directly to their south. One source states that the “souldiers got

⁹⁰ Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

thither after a hard March just about break of day.”⁹¹ Captain Turner and Lieutenant Holyoke likely planned the upcoming assault at that moment now that they had a rough visual of the Native encampment. The English launched their attack down the hill just before daybreak. According to most accounts the village was undefended at the time of the attack and the English:

...came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations...⁹²

By all accounts, English forces were able to advance within point-blank range of the village without being detected. Roger L’Estrange reported that Turner’s men found “the *Indians* fast asleep” and that some of the men were able to “put their guns even into their Wigwams” as they moved into position.⁹³ Mather described how the soldiers found the Native encampment “secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any Scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the *Indians* were aware of them.”⁹⁴ The English likely planned to encompass the village although there is no indication of how they proceeded. All that is known is that on a given signal English forces opened fire and fell upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of the village and began to indiscriminately kill all Native peoples they encountered.

One account described how English forces “fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of posture or order to make any formidable resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number.”⁹⁵ L’Estrange described how the English “poured in their shot among them” while Mather simply wrote how English forces

⁹¹ L’Estrange, *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 3.

⁹² L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

⁹³ L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

⁹⁴ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

⁹⁵ L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

“made a great and notable slaughter amongst them.”⁹⁶ In the terror and confusion Natives soldiers fought back as best they could and managed to inflict some casualties but more importantly bought time for some of the women and children to escape: “the *Indians* that durst and were able did get out of their Wigwams and did fight a little (in which fight one *Englishman* only was slain).”⁹⁷

The shock of the initial gunfire and sustained English volleys caused one Narragansett man, John Wecopeak, to recall how “the Shott came as thick as Raine.”⁹⁸ In the darkness the Native villages initially thought they were under assault from the Mohawk: “When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried Our *Mohawks*, *Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon.”⁹⁹

⁹⁶ L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

⁹⁷ L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

⁹⁸ John Easton, Franklin B. Hough, Editor, *A Narrative Of the Causes which led to Philip’s Indian War, of 1675 and 1676, by John Easton, of Rhode Island*. (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1858). P. 179.

⁹⁹ Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

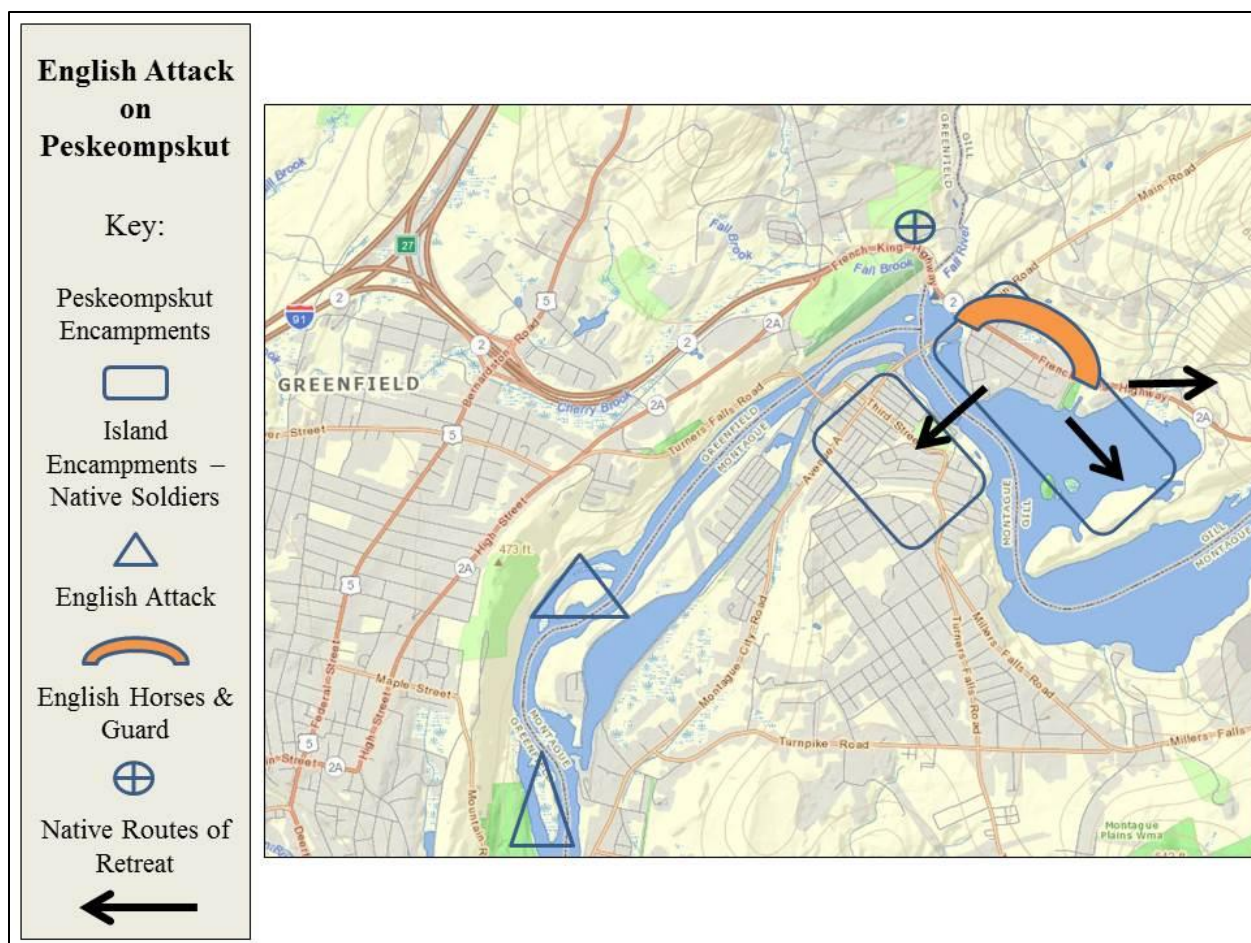


Figure 11. *English Attack on Peskeompskut Encampment*

The extent of the village at Peskeompskut at the time of the attack is unclear but it appears to have run along the length of the shoreline from the Great Falls to present-day Barton Cove. Today, If Turner’s attack focused on the portion of the encampment closest to the falls, which would have been the first they encountered, this may have allowed Native peoples further to the southwest to escape. In his testimony following his capture by English forces, John Wecopeak described how he had “run away” once the fight began “by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but said alsoe, that he was at a great Distance” indicating that he may have further south or east near present-day Barton Cove.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. P.p. 180-181.

One Narragansett soldier Wananaquabin, who was at the village during the attack testified that “he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner” and during initial attack “and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his life.”¹⁰¹ Wananaquabin’s account suggests that he may have been defending the village against the English but fled after losing his firearm. Wananaquabin was strong enough to swim across the Connecticut River to the other Native encampment on the southern shore but other trying to escape were not as successful. Several English accounts describe how in the panic of the attack many Native people attempted to escape across the Connecticut River either by swimming or by canoe but died in the attempt. English soldiers took up positions along the shoreline and opened fired on the swimmers and paddlers killing some and causing others to be swept by the force of the river over the falls.

One English soldier, William Draw, testified that during a lull in the attack he noticed:

“...two or three Soldiers to stand in a secure place below the banke, more quiet than he thought was [illegible] for the time; he asked them why they had stood there saith they answered that they had seen many goe down the falls and thy would endeavo^r to tell how many. Here upon he observed wth them : until he told fifty; and they S^d to him that those made up Six score and ten.”¹⁰²

Roger L’Estranged described the scene as well:

“...others of the *Indians* did enter the River to swim over from the English, but many of them were shot dead in the waters, others wounded were theriein drowned, may got into Canoes to paddle away, but the paddlers being shot, the Canoes over-set with tall therein, and the stream of the River being very violent and swift in the place near the great Falls, most that fell over board were born by the strong current current of that River, and carried upon the Falls of Water from those exceeding high and steep Rocks, and from thence tumbling down were broken in pieces; the English did afterwards find of their bodies, some in the River and some cast ashore, above two hundred.”¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. P.p. 179.

¹⁰² CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

¹⁰³ L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. Pp. 3-4.

The survivors of the initial attack who were not able to escape or swim across the river tried to hide under the banks of the Connecticut River only to be discovered by English soldiers: “others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank.”¹⁰⁴

During the attack English soldiers captured two anvils, bars of lead, blacksmith tools and other war materials and threw them into the river. L’Estrange described the importance of these materials as “in some respect more considerable than their lives”:

“...we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly they may be with men: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River...”¹⁰⁵

In addition to the forges and munitions Turner’s soldiers encountered large stores of dried or smoked fish which they destroyed on site. One account described “several loads of dried fish the English found, and were forced to consume there.”¹⁰⁶

When the attack concluded some soldiers attempted to assess the casualties. The English had suffered one man killed and two wounded during the assault.¹⁰⁷ Native casualty figures were uncertain at the time but according to Increase Mather “Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about

¹⁰⁴ Hubbard, *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

¹⁰⁵ L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12.

¹⁰⁶ L’Estrange, *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls.”¹⁰⁸ Turner’s men rescued at least one captive and possibly more.

One of the captives that Turner’s men rescued was an English boy who told the English soldiers that Philip [Metacom] was nearby along with a thousand troops. The rumor quickly spread through the English ranks causing a widespread panic. At almost the same moment the English were attack at the assembly point by Native soldiers from the the village on the south side of the Connecticut River. The coincidence of the report and the attack spread painic and fear through the English ranks and the retreat quickly turned into a rout with every man for himself. The timing and sequence of the events that took place as the battle ended and the English began to gather at the assembly point is unclear but is critical to understand the reposnse of the inexperienced troops to rumor and sudden attack.

The English withdrew to their assembly point following the attack on the Peskeompskut village in small disorganized groups, some staying behind to count the enemy dead and some to collect loot. Mather wrote of this “tragicial issue of this Expedition” describing how “an *English* Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwarms, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians*: which false report being famed...among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout.”¹⁰⁹ L’Estrange related how “as the English were coming away with the plunder they had got, there was a noise spread among them, of *Sachem Philip*’s coming down upon them; with a thousand men: which not being weighted as it might have been by the English, wheter it were true or false; a fear possessed some part of the English, whereby they fell into a disorder.”¹¹⁰ At the same time Native soldiers from the southern

¹⁰⁸ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

¹¹⁰ L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

encampment, and survivors from Peskeompskut attacked the English at the assembly point further adding to the panic:

“...some of the enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the reer, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired...”¹¹¹

William Hubbard wrote that the Natives around the falls mounted a counterattack soon after the main English assault had ended. Hubbard did not appear to be aware of the rumor inspired panic that resulted in a disorderly retreat but places the blame of the disorganized retreat on the health of Captain Turner. His account also indicates that the Native counterattack may have begun as the English retreated towards their horses:

“The Indians that lay scattering on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help, of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat...”¹¹²

The Indian soldiers encamped on Smead Island and perhaps Cheapside moved north to intercept the English as they retreated west along the White Ash Swamp, setting ambushes to their front and attacking their flanks. Increased Mather related how “a party of Indians from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from Hadly were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men.”¹¹³ Jonathan Wells, a sixteen year old soldier from Hadley, was with a group of twenty soldiers who were “obliged to fight with the enemy to recover their horses.”¹¹⁴ These men were late getting back to the assembly point either because they were among the group counting

¹¹¹ Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

¹¹² Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

¹¹³ Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 49.

¹¹⁴ *History of Hatfield*, P. 463.

Native casualties or perhaps looting the encampment. Wells and his party continued to be attacked from the rear as they tried to reach the main body of the retreating English. Nearly sixty years after the battle he recalled that “He was wth the 20 men y^t were obliged to fight wth the enemy to recover their horses.”¹¹⁵ As he may have been among the last of the men to arrive and how “he mounted his horse a little while” and that he was “then in the rear of y^e company.”¹¹⁶

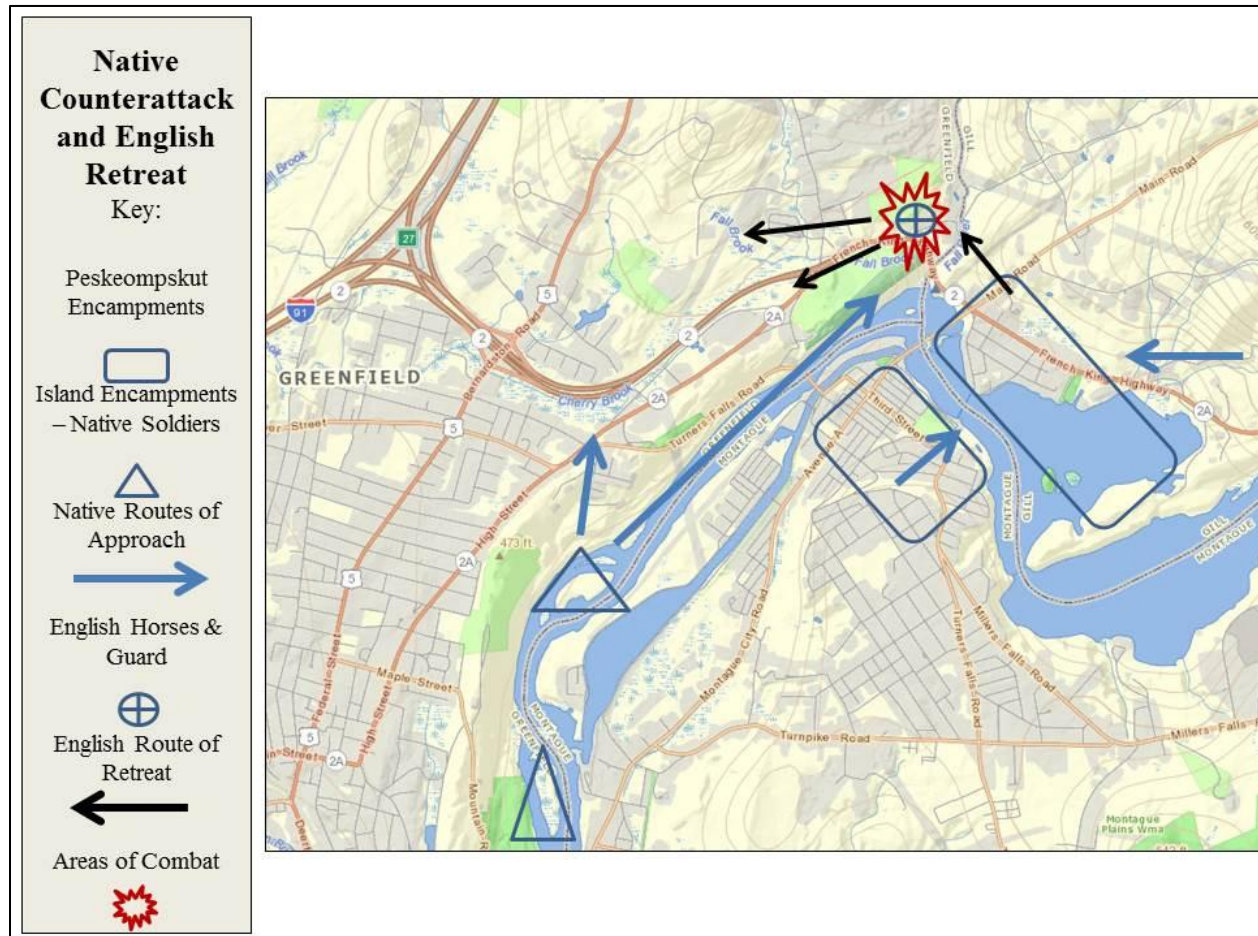


Figure 12. *Native Counterattack and English Retreat.*

Native soldiers advanced from the south up to engage the English along the White Ash Swamp and from the rear pursuing the English as they retreated from the assembly point. Native soldiers converged on Turner’s company who fled west probably along their earlier approach

¹¹⁵ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

¹¹⁶ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

route possibly along the north and/or side of White Ash Swamp to reach the Green River. It was along this retreat that the combat intensified as Native soldiers took positions at various locations in front of the English and along the White Ash Swamp to set ambushes easily anticipating the English route. In the face of concerted Native attacks the English command and organization began to break down and the retreat turned into an unorganized rout.

Captain Turner appears to have led the column of English troops for several miles from where they mounted their horses at the assembly point. Jonathan Wells's account of the battle provides one of the only surviving English accounts of the combat along the retreat. Wells was at the rear of the column as the English began their fighting retreat. He recalled how he was only mounted on his horse in the rear of the company "a little while" before "he was fir^d at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse['s] behind a third struck his thigh...and the bone shatter^d by ye bullet."¹¹⁷ Wells nearly fell from his horse but grabbed the animal's mane and pulled himself upright in his saddle. Three Native soldiers charged him but Wells aimed his unloaded weapon at them several times causing them to reload which slowed them enough for him to reach his company.¹¹⁸ Wells separated from his company again and followed another young soldier, Stephen Belding, towards the front of the English column. Wells and Belding witnessed Isaac Harrison of Hadley fall wounded from his horse while another soldier, John Belcher of Braintree, took up Harrison's horse leaving him for dead.¹¹⁹ Sometime after this Wells separated from Belding and did not see him again during the retreat but would meet again a few days after the battle.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

¹¹⁸ Wells often mentions his musket but never speaks of firing it. It may have been unloaded when he mounted his horse due to having to fight to regain the horses.

¹¹⁹ This information is taken from a complaint of Martha Harrison filed in court against John Belcher in which Wells and Belden testified. Judd, *History of Hadley*. P. 164.

¹²⁰ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

In the meantime the English column was disintegrating from panic and lack of leadership. Well's moved from the rear towards the front of the column to confront Captain Turner and "represented y^e difficulties of y^e men in ye rear & urgd y^t he either turn back to y^r relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body."¹²¹ According to Wells "y^e Capt. replied he had 'better save some, than lose all,'" and the English column began to break apart.¹²² Wells described how "ye army were divided into several parties" as Native soldiers struck the English from the cover of White Ash Swamp and overwhelmed men that separated from larger groups. It appears that some men may have followed Turner, Holyoke, or non-commissioned officers while others stayed close to the two guides Benjamin Wait and Experience Hinsdale who presumably knew the route to the Green River. Wells recalled how the company fractured with "one pilot crying out 'if you love your lives follow me': another y^t was acquainted wth ye woods cry^d 'if you love your lives follow me.'"¹²³

¹²¹ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 463.

¹²² Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

¹²³ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

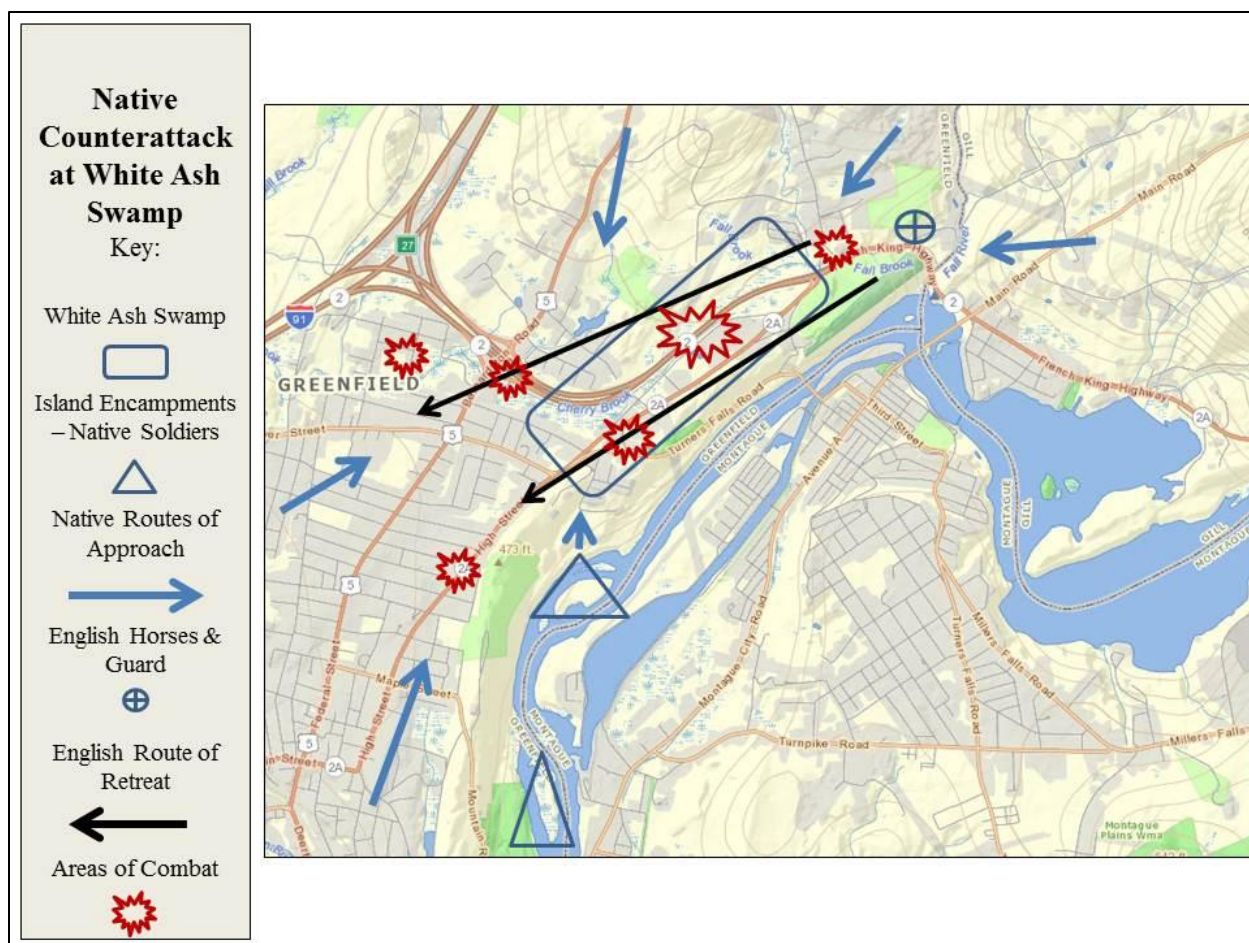


Figure 13. *Native Counterattack at White Ash Swamp.*

After witnessing a total breakdown in command, Wells “fell into the rear again and took wth a small company y^t separated from others” and made their way toward a swamp, perhaps following a trail or simply hoping to push through to the other side. This group “run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp” and in the ensuing combat Wells “then separated again & had about ten men left with him” and continued their retreat. He mentioned that the rest of the company who were engaged by the “parcel” of Native soldiers “was most of y^m killed.”¹²⁴ It is possible that this company of men were the same soldiers described by William Hubbard who was informed by “one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the rear of the English, through

¹²⁴ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

haste missed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians hands.”¹²⁵ Roger L’Estrange wrote of a similar group of English soldiers lost in the battle but it is unclear if it is a description of simply another ambush elsewhere in White Ash Swamp as he described how:

“...the Souldiers so cut off were surpriz’d by a Party of the Enemy belonging to the *Indians* at *Deer-field-falls*, who having gotten before our forces had laid and Ambush, the chiefest execution of which was through too much fear of our Men whereby the disordered themselves...”¹²⁶

This combat near “a swamp” (presumably a branch of White Ash Swamp) occurred within two miles of the Great Falls as Wells noted that “He had now got about 2 miles from ye place where y^y did y^e exploit in” which is presumed to be the Peskeompskut encampment. At the two mile mark he further recalled that “now y^y had left y^e track of y^e company & were left both by y^e Indians y^t persue^d y^m and by their own men that should have tarried with y^m” while both he and Stephen Belding “were unacquainted wth y^e woods & without anny track or path.”¹²⁷ The battle continued to move west without Jonathan Wells, Stephen Belding, and undoubtedly other wounded or missing English soldiers seeking refuge away from the battlefield.

The retreat quickly disintegrated into a rout because of poor leadership and the inexperience of the troops. Nearly all accounts described the “bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner* in one way or another and it is not clear if he was in any condition to be an effective leader at this time. If he had not become separated from Lieutenant Holyoke it seems like that the officers would remain close to one another to coordinate the retreat.

¹²⁵ Hubbard, *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

¹²⁶ L’Estrange, *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4

¹²⁷ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

Lieutenant Holyoke was credited by several English sources as man who maintained some order among the retreating soldiers as the men moved west through heavy Native toward the Green River. Hubbard believed the following:

“...if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more then ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the flank and reer, at all times encouraging the Souldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, who he presently dispatched, and another friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the souldiers without any further loss...”

Native forces continued to attack the English along the White Ash Swamp as they made their way to the Green River Ford where Native forces converged and directed a heavy fire on them as they approached the ford. It was at the Green River that Captain Turner was struck in the thigh by musket fire as he was crossing the river on horseback. Increase Mather described the sceene from eye witness accounts:

“...In this *disorder*, her that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was *Turner*, lost his life, he was purused through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the *Green River*, & as he came out of the *Water* he fell into the hands of the *Uncircumcised*, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm it) and rode Away on his horse;”¹²⁸

It appears that Native soldiers quickly overran the ford and took possession of a mortally wounded Captain Turner. The Narragansett soldier, John Wecopeak, who had “run away” during the initial moments of English attack “by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine” had rearmed and long since fallen in with other Native warriors fighting the English when he witnessed Turner fall. Months after the battle Wecopeak was captured and may have bragged to two Englishmen who later testified that “Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt. Turner, and that he

¹²⁸ Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

was shott in the Thigh, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was him name.”¹²⁹

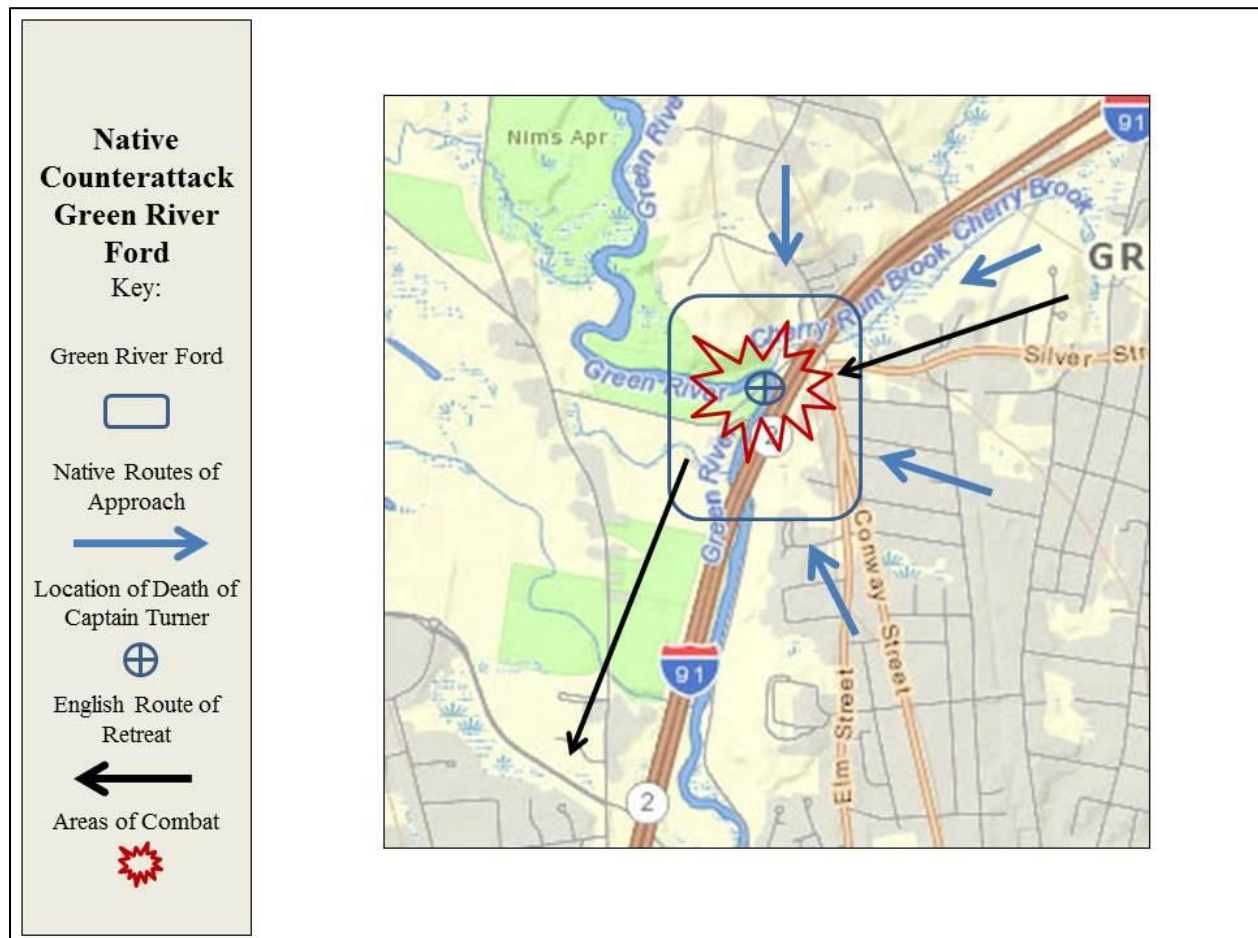


Figure 14. *Native Counterattack at the Green River Ford*

Days after the fight at the ford English forces recovered Captain Turner’s body and described how “Capt. *Turners* dead Corps was found a small distance from the River; it appeared that he had been shot through his thigh and back, of which its judged he dyed speedily without any great torture from the enemy.”¹³⁰

Roger L’Estrange’s report indicates that Holyoke was with Turner and the main body of soldiers when their commander fell. According to L’Estrange, Lieutenant Holyoke rallied the

¹²⁹ Easton, *Narrative of the Causes*. Pp. 180-181.

¹³⁰ Mather, *A Brief History*. Pp. 49-50.

remaining soldiers and “exhorted them not to be terrified, saying God hath wrought hitherto for us wonderfully, let us trust in him still.”¹³¹ After taking command Holyoke drew the men into in closer order to fight as infantry and is credited with preventing the complete destruction of the remaining English troops. It was said that his actions of “reducing his men into close order made a safe and valiant retreat, and preserved the Souldiers under him; that here were but few of them slain.”¹³² It is unclear how many men were now under Lieutenant Holyoke’s command, or what portion remained mounted, but now on the west side of the Green River they advanced south under sustained fire. The soldiers under Holyoke’s command maintained a degree of cohesiveness as a fighting force and safely made it to Deerfield and later Hatfield. It appears that much of the fighting had ended as the men reached the remains of Deerfield. Native soldiers may have held their positions around the Deerfield River while others hunted down English soldiers now cut off from the main group.

Not all men followed the main body under Captain Turner to the Green River. As mentioned earlier, several ambushes and combat actions occurred along the White Ash Swamp. At least one party of English soldiers was cut off in the swamp completely. Another group which Jonathan Wells briefly joined as the English column broke apart made contact with “a parcel” of Native soldiers who killed or captured those men. Wells escaped as that engagement began and along with a wounded John Jones the two men lost the main body of English soldiers and tried to avoid capture. Well and Jones parted ways and soon after he recalled growing weak from his wound and “once when y^e indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a

¹³¹ L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

¹³² L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4.

nutmeg...he was revived.”¹³³ It appears that this incident occurred as Wells was trying to make his way to the Green River, possibly somewhere in present-day northern Greenfield.

Other soldiers, both in small groups and singularly, made their way south towards the Deerfield River only to be intercepted by Native soldiers. This could account for the discovery of a King Philip’s War era carbine during the filling of wetlands in 1896 and the subsequent construction of Lincoln Street in present-day Greenfield.¹³⁴ Other men became lost and arrived in Hadly several days later after “wandering on the West mountains.”¹³⁵ A wounded and severely weakened Jonathan Wells arrived in Hatfield on Sunday, May 21, 1676 while the Reverend Hope Atherton returned on Monday after surviving his own harrowing escape.¹³⁶ By the evening of Monday, May 22, 1676, the Reverend Jonathan Russell wrote to the Council in Connecticut with a report of thirty-eight or thirty-nine English soldiers still missing. He hoped that “Providence may yet guide them in or noe we know not, we are not quite without hopes of some of them” but no other English soldiers made it back.¹³⁷

Jonathan Wells was later told by Native informants that eight English soldiers from Turner’s command surrendered themselves to Native soldiers somewhere around Peskeomskut if they were given quarter. Wells testified to the fate of the eight soldiers:

“The Indians have given the account following to Jonathan Wells, Esq., viz.: That the Monday after the fight, 8 Englishmen that were lost came to them and offered to submitt themselves to them, if they would not put them to death, but whether they promised them quarter or not, they took then, and burnt them; the method of Burning them was to cover them with thatch and put fire to it, and set them a running; and when one coat of thatch was burnt up, they would put on another, & the barbarous creatures that have given this account of their inhumanity, have in a scoffing manner

¹³³ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 464.

¹³⁴ The Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Museum is in possession of a small bottle of gunpowder attributed to this recovered 17th Century Carbine. The provenience is as follows: “Gun Powder taken from the old carbine found by James Porter, June 1896, four feet below the surface in a swamp on Lincoln Street in Greenfield, where it had probably lain for 220 years.” Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Accession number MRC 137.

¹³⁵ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

¹³⁶ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 466.

¹³⁷ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74.

added, that the Englishmen would cry out as they were burning, ‘Oh dear! oh dear!’ The Indians themselves account it very unmanly to moan or make ado under the torments and cruelties of their enemies who put them to Death.”¹³⁸

In the days and weeks after the battle English scouts recovered the remains of some fallen English soldiers and with evidence that some had been tortured. According to William Harris:

“...Four of five men (some say more) the Indians caught alive, and tortured them as follows: They tied their hands up spreading [torn] upon the one [torn] and the other upon another, and likewise set two stakes at a distance, to which they tied their feet. Then they made a fire under each of them, gashing their thighs and legs with knives, and casting into the gashes hot embers to torment them. This also somewhat stanches the blood so that they do not bleed to death so soon, but remain alive to torment longer...”¹³⁹

By May 22, 1676 it was clear that Captain Turner’s company had suffered a total of thirty-eight casualties (killed), including the commanding officer.¹⁴⁰ An exact tally of English wounded cannot be determined but it is likely that a large percentage of the survivors of Turner’s company, like Jonathan Wells, were wounded in the engagement. It took some of these wounded men months to recover from their wounds while others died a year or two later from complications related to the experience.¹⁴¹ It is also unclear exactly how many Native soldiers and combatants lost their lives in the engagement as accounts varied over time. Also, like the English casualty figures, there is no accounting for those who died of their wounds or as a result of the May 19, 1676 attack. Based on the accounts of two soldiers who tallied the dead at

¹³⁸ Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 466.

¹³⁹ Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. Pp. 80-81.

¹⁴⁰ English Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: “eight or nin[e] and thirty” (38-39) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; “two and thirty” (32) in L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; “about thirty-eight” (38) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; “thirty and eight” (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; “thirty eight” (38) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85; “Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner” in Chapin. *Chapin Genealogy*. P. 4.

¹⁴¹ Jonathan Wells was bed-ridden for a full year and by his account it took him up to four years to fully recover. The Reverend Hope Atherton’s death on June 4, 1677 was blamed in part to the exposure he suffered while lost in the woods. Wells, *History of Hatfield*. P. 85, 466.

Peskeompskut, Reverend Russell estimated that “we Cannot but judge that there were abov^e 200 of them Slain” while most other estimates generally average around 200 killed.¹⁴²

English forces were able to reorganize in Hadley and sent out scouting parties to investigate Native positions and to presumably search for any missing English soldiers. They reported that Natives still resided at both Peskeompskut encampments at on the island below the falls. On May 22, 1676 the Reverend Russel reported this information to the Connecticut Council at Hartford:

“Our Scouts being out his this night have discovered that the enemy abide Still in the place where they were on both Sides y^e River and in the Island; and fires in the Same place where o^r men had burnt the wigwams. So that they judge either that Philip is com to them or some Souldiers of his Company from Squakeaheags, Paquiog and other places ...”¹⁴³

Russell again called for Connecticut to send troops to disperse the settlements around the falls. He added that their scouts reported that “they hav^e planted as Is judged 300 acres of choice ground at Deerfeild : their fish is there not yet fit to Carry away.”¹⁴⁴ Based on this information Russel was convinced that the Native groups at the falls would reamin in the region for some time to come.

Eleven days after the English attack on Peskeompskut, between two and three hundred Native soldiers attacked the English settlement at Hatfield on the east side of the Connecticut River. Prior to the assault the Native soldiers laid two ambushes on anticpated routes of approach upon which English reninforcments would likely travel to assist Hatfield. One ambush was set on the road leading north out of Hadley and another in the meadows on the eastern banks

¹⁴² Native Casualty Figures as reported in primary accounts are as follows: “abov^e 200” (200+) in CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74; “several hundreds” (200+) in L’Estrange, *A New and Further Narrative*. P. 12; “four hundred” (400)) in L’Estrange. *A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences*. P. 4; “hundreds” (200+) in Leach. *Second William Harris Letter*. P. 80; “above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground...about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River” (230+) in” (38) in Mather, *A Brief History*. P. 50; “two or three hundred” (200-300) in Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 85.

¹⁴³ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74

¹⁴⁴ CSL, Connecticut Archives, Colonial War, Series I. P. 74

of the Connecticut River where the ferry from Hadley would land.¹⁴⁵ The main body of Native soldiers then advanced south from the falls and struck Hatfield destroying houses, barns, and other outbuildings outside of the town's fortifications in addition to killing cattle and driving away sheep. Reinforcements arrived from the Hadley crossed the Connecticut River and landed under fire to relieve Hatfield. Five English soldiers were killed in the ensuing fighting and others were wounded.¹⁴⁶ Native forces fell back after destroying many undefended buildings in town and prepared for an English counterattack which did not occur. It is unclear if the Native soldiers suffered any casualties. The May 30, 1676 attack on Hatfield can be seen as a retaliatory attack for Turner's assault on Peskeompskut or a continuation of the spring 1676 campaign in the upper Connecticut River Valley. In either case, it was the last major confrontation between English and Native forces in the Great Falls region during the war.

¹⁴⁵ Judd. *History of Hadley*. Pp. 175-176.

¹⁴⁶ Hubbard. *Troubles with the Indians*. P. 86.

Battle of Great Falls Study & Core Areas

Study Area

The Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area is defined by the Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal of the Colonial and Native forces, Key Terrain, ancillary sites, and the several battles and actions associated with the English attack on Peskeompskut Village and the subsequent Native counterattacks on the fleeing English forces (Figure 1). The Study Area encompasses approximately 52 square kilometers (20 square miles) characterized by several major and minor rivers and associated floodplains (Connecticut, Deerfield and Green Rivers) locally rugged terrain including the Rocky Mountain that rises 350' above the west bank of the river, and numerous streams, brook, and wetlands such as the White Ash Brook and Swamp and the Cherry Run Brooks. The Study area is bounded on the south by Deerfield Meadow which primary sources indicate was how far south the retreating Colonial forces were pursued by Native forces. The western boundary of the Study Area is defined by the Deerfield and Green Rivers which the English crossed at various places during their approach and withdrawal/retreat, as did Native forces during their counterattack. The northern boundary is defined by the English Assembly Point west of the Falls Bridge River and the hill behind the Peskeompskut Village which was used by the English as their main avenue of attack on the village. The Eastern boundary of the Study Area is defined in part by Barton's Cove where one of the Native villages involved in the counterattack may have been located. Included within the Study Area are several Core Areas (areas of engagement and fire between combatants), Key Terrain features (ground that must be controlled in order to achieve military success), and Ancillary Sites (villages, forts, encampments that provided direct support during the battle).

Core Areas

Four Core Areas were identified within the Study Area, English Assembly Point Core Area, White Ash Swamp Core Area, Green River Ford Core Area, and Peskeompskut Village Core Area. These Core Areas were identified based on analysis of primary sources associated with the battle and in the case of the Green River Ford Core Area, archeological evidence. In these instances primary sources provided sufficient information on their locations to place the core areas on a U.S.G.S. 7 ½ minute topographic map [Figure 1]. A visual inspection of the core areas indicated that they all maintained a degree of visual and physical integrity. Although only four Core Areas were defined at this time it does not preclude identifying additional areas of combat as the battlefield archaeology survey progresses.

Peskeompskut Village Core Area: The core area is defined by a broad flat plain that extends along the banks of the Connecticut River east of the falls and uphill and north of the Connecticut River for 200-300 meters. The core area lies within the Riverside District, a fairly dense concentration of residential homes and streets. In spite of the potential visual and physical impacts the Riverside area is still considered to retain a moderate degree of visual and physical integrity.

It is estimated that between twenty and thirty wigwams / wetus were located within the core area, housing between 200-300 people. The English approached the village from the northwest after crossing the Falls River and then proceeded east deploying along the crest of the hill overlooking the village. The attack began at dawn from the crest of the hill and proceeding downhill to the banks of the river. The English achieved complete surprise and were able to approach the northernmost groups of wigwams without alerting the defenders. English sources state that the soldiers put the muzzles of their guns into the wigwams and fired their muskets into

the sleeping men, women, and children, leaving a recognizable signature of concentrations of small shot. As the battle progressed, with increasing resistance by defenders, and as villagers fled to the hoped for safety of the river, the entire complexion of the battlefield changed. The element of surprise was gone as were the opportunities to fire volleys of musket fire at close range against defenseless people. Sleeping and confused villagers began to defend themselves and disperse, and the English responded accordingly, targeting individuals over an increasingly widening battlefield. The progression of the battle has implications for the nature and distribution of musket balls across the battlefield

The signature of the village and potentially individual wigwams, should be fairly recognizable given that Seventeenth Century Native occupations tend to have high concentrations of brass and iron domestic objects and debris from reworking objects of metal brass, and lead. English sources also mention two anvils that were thrown into the river, indicating forges whose signatures of reworked iron objects and iron slag have been well documented. Two large bars of lead were also thrown into the river indicating that the village was likely melting lead to make musket balls. Drops of molten lead are very common in such contexts. It would be difficult to distinguish the presence/positions of English soldiers on the battlefield based on dropped or discarded equipment, weapons, or personal items as the Native people within the village were using similar items.

English Assembly Point Core Area: The English arrived at a location ½ mile from the Peskeompskut Village and immediately west of the Falls River just before dawn on May 19th to make their final preparations to begin the attack. They tied their horses to saplings and probably left a small group of men to watch over them. Based on the few locational clues provided by English sources, and examination of the topography in the general area a broad terrace

overlooking the Falls River was identified as the most likely location. The terrace is approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Peskeompskut Village site and has topography for horses to traverse and broad enough for 160 horses. The initial Native counterattack occurred at this location when the English returned to mount their horses and begin the retreat. A combination of the attack and a rumor that King Philip was about to arrive with 1,000 men spread panic through the English as they rushed to get away as quickly as possible. The area should have a fairly visible archeological signature characterized by musket balls fired by Native and English forces, English dropped and broken equipment and personal items and horse tack (buckles) and perhaps horseshoes and horseshoe nails. The panicked retreat may have resulted in a higher frequency of these objects than would normally be expected under other circumstances.

White Ash Swamp Core Area: English sources indicate that the English split into at least 5-6 separate groups in their panicked retreat between the time they were attacked at the English Assembly Point and the White Ash Swamp. The main body may have followed Captain Turner along an as yet undetermined route, but several smaller groups of 8-15 men split off from the main body in their rush to escape and took as many different routes. At least one or two of the groups are known to have passed close enough to the swamp to be ambushed. Other groups may have taken routes that would not have passed as close to the swamp but still received fire from other locations. Whatever routes were taken, and perhaps some taken to avoid the swamp, the English would have to pass through a half-mile wide corridor with the swamp in the center. It is likely that paths and trails ran through the core area used by the English along their routes of approach and retreat. The boundaries of the core area are defined by the eastern and western ends of the White Ash Swamp, the Rocky Mountain on the south and other wetlands and streams to the north. Relatively flat terrain, easily traversed by horses, is present on both sides of the

swamp. It is not clear from English sources whether the ambushes occurred on the north or south side of the swamp, but likely both. Other actions occurred all along the route(s) of English retreat to the Deerfield meadows but English sources do not provide sufficient information to locate them. It is anticipated that additional combat actions will be identified when fieldwork commences. Archeological signatures of combat actions that took place along the core area will be distributions of musket balls fired from and into the swamp as well as dropped and broken English equipment and horseshoes and horseshoe nails.

Green River Ford Core Area: The Green River Ford is located at the confluence of the Cherry Rum Brook and the Green River. The ford was used by retreating English forces to cross the Green River on their way south to cross the Deerfield River. Primary sources identify this location as the place where Captain Turner was killed just as he crossed the Green River. Several musket balls were recovered by a metal detector hobbyist where the Cherry Rum Brook enters the Green River confirming the location as an area of combat.

Key Terrain Features

Key terrain is any ground which, when controlled, affords a marked advantage to either combatant. Two factors can make terrain key: how a commander wants to use it, and whether his enemy can use it to defeat the commander's forces. Decisive Terrain is ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission. In the context of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut, the most significant key terrain features are the swamps, particularly the White Ash Swamp, which provided cover and concealment for Native men to ambush the retreating English, and the fords over the Green and Deerfield Rivers which served

as predictable choke points funneling the retreating English into narrow lanes providing ideal opportunities to set ambushes [Figure 1].

White Ash Swamp Key Terrain Feature: The swamp is a seasonally wet area approximately two miles long and a half mile wide with the White Ash Swamp Brook meandering through the middle of the wetland. The swamp lies between two fairly level terraces rising just a few feet above the wetland, making ideal cover and topography to ambush English soldiers riding along the terraces. The southern terrace is a relatively narrow and constricted landform only 100-150 meters wide bounded on the east by the high ground of Rocky Mountain and on the east by the swamp, forcing any retreating English close to the swamp and the waiting ambush.

Swamps were used very effectively by Native forces throughout the war for cover, concealment, and refuge. Swamps and wetlands typically described as thickets, dense concentrations of brush that completely obscured views into the swamp but provided excellent opportunities for Native soldiers hiding just inside for setting an ambush. The English often used adjectives such as “dismal” and “hideous” to describe swamps and generally avoided them at all costs, reluctant to risk their lives in terrain easily commanded and traversed by Native forces. James Cudworth, a Plymouth Colony soldier, expressed English fears and dislike for fighting in swamps “The place we found was a hideous swamp. Now so it is, that we judge it not our work to assault him [Native enemy] at such disadvantages; for the issue of such a design will be to pick off our men, and we shall never be able to obtain our end in this way, for they fly before us, from one swamp to another.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ James Cudworth, “James Cudworth Letters”, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. VI, First Series. (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1799). Pp. 84-85.

Red Rock Ford, Deerfield Ford, and Green River Ford Key Terrain Features: The control and access to fords across major and minor rivers and streams greatly influenced the avenues of approach and withdrawal by the English during the attack, and provided Native soldiers opportunities to anticipate English movements to the fords to make their escape and set ambushes. The preferred route for crossing the Deerfield River was the Deerfield Ford as it provided the most direct route for moving north and south along the west side of the Connecticut River. This key terrain feature was controlled by Native forces at Cheapside, a high elevation with a commanding view of the Deerfield River and ford below. Although the English believed the Native people at Peskeompskut felt secure enough not to post a guard, the Native position at Cheapside suggests otherwise. Native sentries were also positioned along the north side of Deerfield Ford to gather intelligence about English movements and perhaps defend the ford if necessary. The English may have assumed that Native forces continued to control this ford during the retreat which may be why they crossed at the Green River Ford even though it was not the shortest route to Deerfield and Hatfield. The English were likely aware of the Native guard at the Deerfield Ford and Cheapside and prudently used the Red Rock Ford to cross the Deerfield River. The Red Rock Ford is ?? miles south of the Deerfield Ford, and made for a much longer distance for the English to travel if they wanted to avoid detection. The English rode ?? miles out of their way to cross the Green River Ford on their way to Peskeompskut.

The Native forces could obviously anticipate the route(s) the English would use during their retreat and set ambushes at several key terrain features such as the White Ash Swamp and the ford at the Green River. The Native forces knew the terrain well and used the key terrain features very effectively as they mounted their counterattacks against the retreating English. It is

anticipated that battlefield archaeology surveys will identify additional actions along the retreat and other key terrain features used by the Native forces.

Cheapside Key Terrain Feature: This feature is a prominent topographic feature at the southern tip of the Rocky Mountain between the 200'-225' contour interval. The feature rises 150' or more above the Greenfield and Connecticut Rivers with a commanding view of the surrounding landscape for miles around, including the Deerfield Ford. The feature is ideal for defense and observation and was fortified by Native forces at the time of the attack on Peskeompskut. The Native occupation and control of Cheapside prevented English forces from crossing the Deerfield River at Deerfield Ford during their approach to and retreat from Peskeompskut, forcing them to go miles out of their way and exposing themselves to additional Native attacks.

Ancillary Sites

Ancillary sites are defined as villages, encampments, field hospitals, observation posts, etc. that were not directly involved in the battle but nonetheless played an important supporting role which influenced the eventual outcome of the battle. For example, the Peskeompskut Village Site on the north side of the Connecticut was directly involved in the battle as it was attacked by the English (Core Area). The Peskeompskut Village II Site on the south side of the Connecticut River was not directly involved in the battle but played a supporting role in the ensuing battle as men from this village crossed the Connecticut River to attack the retreating English in the rear.

Peskeompskut Village II Ancillary Site: The location, size, and configuration of this village are not known but it is reasonable to assume that it was similar in size and composition to

the Peskeompskut Village on the north side of the Connecticut River. Although the village was not attacked by the English the men quickly mobilized after the attack commenced on the north side of the Connecticut and may have been among the first to attack the English at their Assembly Area. It was likely that men from this village continued to attack the English from the rear as they retreated to the Deerfield River.

Smead and Rawson Islands Ancillary Sites: English sources mention a Native fishing village at Smead Island and it is likely there was an encampment A Rawson Island as well. These encampments were not attacked by the English but the men from these villages played a significant role in the ensuing battle attacking the English along their flanks as they retreated along the White Ash Swamp and set ambushes in front of the retreating English.

Cheapside Ancillary Site: Cheapside is a rocky promontory rising 300' feet above the surrounding landscape at the southern end of Rocky Mountain overlooking the Deerfield River and the Deerfield River Ford. This terrain feature is an excellent defensive and observation position with commanding views to the east, south, and west. English sources mention a "fortification" at Cheapside, but nothing specifically is known about the nature and size of the defensive works. It appears that an unknown number of Native men occupied Cheapside as well as a position closer to the Green River Ford. Although English sources do not specifically mention Native forces from Cheapside participating in the retreat battle, it is reasonable to assume they did, and may also have continued to hold the Deerfield River Ford.

Table 3: *Critical Defining Features. Battle of Great Falls*

Name	Location	Relevance to Battle	Field Comment	KOCA Analysis	Integrity Assessment	Remarks
Terrain and Topographical Features						
Connecticut River	The Connecticut River runs south from Fourth Connecticut Lake in New Hampshire to Long Island Sound at Old Saybrook, Connecticut.	The Great Falls on the Connecticut River attracted Native settlements at Peskeompskut to take advantage of the Spring fishing season and to plant crops. Native encampments were situated on both sides of the Connecticut River.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development., Significant Industrial Development	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Key Terrain Feature	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association,	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain
Rocky Mountain	The Rocky Mountain ridge runs north from the confluence of the Deerfield and Connecticut River to Fall River just below the Great Falls. To the west of the mountain was Greenfield Meadows at the time of the battle.	On the southern end of the ridge overlooking the Deerfield River is a rocky promontory known locally as "Cheapside." There Native soldiers had an observation post and possible fortification overlooking the plains and two fords to the south. The English sought to avoid this location.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development.	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (Native) Key Terrain Features include heavily glaciated landscape and wetlands and ridges	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Cheapside Ancillary Site & Key Terrain
Pisgah Mountain	Pisgah Mountain is located immediate north, northeast of Great Falls and is east of Fall River.	English forces massed on the southern slope of Pisgah Mountain prior to their assault on Peskeompskut village.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation, Moderate Residential Development.	Key Terrain, Observation, Key Terrain, Avenues of Approach (English allied), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain

White Ash Swamp	White Ash Swamp is a large wetland that runs in a northeasterly direction to the north of Rocky Mountain. It is fed by Cherry Rum Brook.	Native soldiers occupied White Ash Swamp and struck English forces as they retreated towards the Green River after their attack on Peskeompskut. Several groups of English were ambushed in the swamp as they tried to escape.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; White Ash Swamp Core Area & Key Terrain Feature
Deerfield River	The Deerfield River is located south of Rocky Mountain and north of the Deerfield Meadows. It runs easterly until it empties into the Connecticut River.	Native Soldiers were positioned along the northern banks of the Deerfield River guarding the fording areas against English incursions.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles.	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain
Green River	The Green River is located to the west of Rocky Mountain and the present-day Town of Greenfield. It runs southerly until it empties into the Deerfield River.	The English advanced along the west side of the Green River and forded it during their route of approach where the Mill River emptied into it. The English returned to this location during their retreat and it was at the ford where Captain Turner was killed.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Green River Ford Core Area & Key Terrain Feature.
Cherry Rum Brook	Cherry Rum Brook is located in present-day Greenfield and runs easterly between Mill Brook and feeds the White Ash Swamp.	English forces general followed Cherry Rum Brook after fording the Green River. The brook brought the to the White Ash Swamp and the Falls River further east.	Moderate Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (English)	Location, Association, Feeling, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Key Terrain

Falls River	Falls River runs south between the present-day towns of Greenfield and Gill. It empties south into the Connecticut River.	English forces tied their horses in a location just west of Falls River and stationed some soldiers to guard them. Turner's company crossed the Falls River and advanced east towards their objective.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English) & Retreat (English). Key Terrain	Location, Association, Feeling, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; English Assembly Point Core Area; Key Terrain
The Great Falls	The Great Falls is a large waterfall system that runs north and south across the Connecticut River between the present-day towns of Gill and Montague. A large bedrock outcropping historically split the waterfall. Today there is a modern dam to regulate water levels.	The Great Falls attracted Native peoples to the region for thousands of years. In 1676 Native peoples congregated at Great Falls to plant and fish. The English quickly became aware of large Native communities around Great Falls at Peskeompskut.	High Industrial Development, Wooded.	Key Terrain, Obstacles.	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area
Smead Island	One of two major islands about three miles below the Great Falls in present-day Greenfield.	One of two islands south of the Great Falls upon which an undetermined number of Native soldiers were encamped. These men mobilized after the English attack and counterattacked the English near Falls River and along White Ash Swamp.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Avenues of Approach (Native)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Smead Island Ancillary Site
Rawson Island	One of two major islands about three miles below the Great Falls in present-day Greenfield.	One of two islands south of the Great Falls upon which an undetermined number of Native soldiers were encamped. These men mobilized after the English attack and counterattacked the English near Falls River and along White Ash Swamp.	Wooded, Open Space, Land Conservation	Key Terrain, Observation, Cover & Concealment (Native), Avenues of Approach (Native)	Location, Setting, Feeling, Association, Material Culture.	Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinne wag-Peskeompskut Study Area; Rawson Island Ancillary Site

Miscellaneous						
Peskeompskut Encampment (North)	One of two known Native encampments surrounding the Great Falls. One encampment was located on the north side while the other was on the southern shore.	A large village site where Native peoples from multiple communities had lived since the late winter in anticipation of planting and fishing. The northern village was attacked by English forces on the morning of May 19, 1676.	Minimal Residential Development., Moderate Industrial Development, Moderate Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native)..	Location, Association, Feeling, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native) Material Culture.	Native Village; Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinn ewag- Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area
Peskeompskut Encampment (South)	One of two known Native encampments surrounding the Great Falls. One encampment was located on the north side while the other was on the southern shore.	A large village site where Native peoples from multiple communities had lived since the late winter in anticipation of planting and fishing. Victims of the English attack fled to the southern village. Men from the southern village rallied and counterattacked soon after.	High Residential Development., High Industrial Development, High Historical Impacts	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Obstacles, Avenue of Approach (English), Avenue of Retreat (Native)..	Location, Association, Feeling, Avenue of Approach (Native), Material Culture	Native Village; Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinn ewag- Peskeompskut Study Area; Peskeompskut Village Core Area

VI. Research Design: Future Site Identification & Documentation Phase

The historical and archeological research design to guide future archeological fieldwork associated with the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut will initially focus on the four Core Areas identified in the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan Technical Report; English Assembly Core Area, Peskeompskut Village Core Area, White Ash Swamp Core Area, and the Green River Ford Core Area. It is anticipated that additional combat actions will be identified outside these primary core areas as the battlefield survey progresses. The primary objective of future fieldwork associated with the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut project will be to locate and document battlefield actions and related sites such as the Peskeompskut Village, English Assembly Point, and Cheapside through a program of archeological and historical research. A second, but no less important goal, will be to eventually prepare National Register of Historic Places registration forms to nominate significant or potentially significant sites and battlefields to the National Register of Historic Places.

The future battlefield project will consist of five tasks, which will often occur simultaneously: 1) Re-analysis of primary sources to construct a more detailed timeline and additional location(s) of battlefield events and sites with anticipated archeological signatures; 2) Continued evaluation of the military significance of the terrain through KOCOA (Military Terrain Analysis); 2) Hold regular meetings with landowners to secure additional permissions to conduct fieldwork, inform them of the progress of fieldwork, and get them directly involved in the process of battlefield survey and reconstruction; 3) Conduct a fieldwork program of metal detection, remote sensing and archeological survey and excavation to locate, define, and assess the integrity of battlefield actions and sites, and obtain a representative sample of battle-related objects; 4) Conduct ongoing laboratory analysis and conservation of recovered battle-related

objects; 5) integrate battlefield terrain, and historical, and artifactual data into Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to reconstruct battlefield events and sites across time and space.

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut must be viewed in the broader context Native and Colonial military strategy and tactics, technological, individual, and command capabilities of Native and Colonial forces, and the wider strategic goals and objects of the Native combatants. The Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut is unique in that it was one of the first times in King Philip's that such a broad coalition of Native leaders assembled at one place to pursue their as yet poorly understood war aims. The many actions between the Native coalition and English forces that took place in the central Connecticut Valley occurred in two phases, the early period of the war between August-November 1675, and the later phase between March and June 1676. These two periods document the nature and evolution of Native and English strategy and tactics within a relatively circumscribed geographic area and over a prolonged period of time. Careful analysis of relevant primary sources of all actions and battles throughout the broader region may provide important insights into the broader native strategies in the war.

Battlefield Archeology

The discipline of Battlefield Archeology is concerned primarily with the identification and study of sites where the conflict took place, and the archeological signature of the event. This requires information gathered from historical records associated with a battlefield including troop dispositions, numbers, and the order of battle (command structure, strength, and disposition of personnel, equipment, and units of an armed force during field operations), as well as undocumented evidence of an action or battle gathered from archeological investigations. The

archeology of a battlefield allows battlefield archeologists to reconstruct the progress of a battle, assess the veracity of historical accounts of the battle, as well as fill in any gaps in the historical record. This is particularly important with respect to the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut, as the historical record is often incomplete, confusing, and biased. Battlefield archeology seeks to move beyond simple reconstruction of the battlefield event, and move toward a more dynamic interpretation of the battlefield.

A dynamic reconstruction of battlefield events requires an ongoing assessment of the congruence of historical and archeological data in an effort to identify discrete group or individual actions and movements on the battlefield in order to place them in a temporal framework. An integral part of this process is to place the battlefield(s) and related sites in a broader cultural and battlefield landscape to better understand, interpret and identify battlefield events and sites. A cultural landscape is defined as a geographic area, encompassing cultural and natural resources associated with the historic battlefield event.¹⁴⁸ The key aspect of this analysis is the reconstruction of the historic landscape and battlefield terrain associated with the battle to identify natural and cultural features present in the battlefield space and determine how they were used by the combatants.¹⁴⁹ While Battlefields are situated within the broader cultural landscape, battlefield reconstructions focus only on those cultural and natural features directly related to the battlefield.

¹⁴⁸ Loechl, Susan K., Susan L. Enscoe, Megan W. Tooker, and Samuel L. Batzli. *Guidelines for Identifying and Evaluating Military Landscapes*. Washington, DC: Legacy Resource Management Program, Army Corps of Engineers, 2009.

¹⁴⁹ Carman, John & Patricia Carman. "Mustering Landscapes: What Historic Battlefields Share in Common" in Eds. Douglas Scott, Lawrence Babits, and Charles Haecker. *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2009. P. 42.

Battlefield Pattern Analysis

Traditional battlefield interpretations and reconstructions rely primarily on historical information (battle accounts, narratives, diaries, etc.), occasionally augmented by oral histories and random collections of battle-related objects. These reconstructions tend to focus only on the spatial distribution of battlefield events which result in a static reconstruction of the battlefield, referred to as Gross-Pattern Analysis. Douglas Scott, Richard Fox, and others have advocated an approach to battlefield archeology that moves beyond the particularistic and synchronic approach characteristic of Gross-Pattern Analysis in battlefield reconstructions.¹⁵⁰ This approach, known as Dynamic-Pattern Analysis, interprets and reconstructs battlefields by integrating discrete battlefield events and their archeological signatures into a cohesive spatial and temporal sequence.

Using both Gross-Pattern and Dynamic-Pattern Battlefield Analyses, the spatial and temporal dimensions of a battle are better defined by integrating the historical and archeological record into a process of battlefield reconstruction that seeks archeological and historical correlates of individual and unit behaviors. The historical record associated with battlefield events can be used to inform and test hypotheses of individual and unit actions and movements which can then be tested against the archeological record.

If individual and unit actions can be identified in battlefield accounts and their archeological signatures identified and tracked across the battlefield, a temporal dimension (sequencing) can be added to the battlefield analysis. Sequencing battlefield behaviors and

¹⁵⁰ Scott, Douglas D., Richard A. Fox, Jr., Melissa A. Connor and Dick Harmon. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989; Carlson-Drexler, Carl G. "Finding Battery Positions at Wilson's Creek, Missouri" in Eds. Douglas Scott, Lawrence Babits, and Charles Haecker. *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2009; Fox, Richard A and Douglas D. Scott. "The Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern: An Example from the Custer Battlefield." *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1991: Pp. 92-103.

actions requires constructing a detailed timeline of battlefield events and actions based on historical accounts. This timeline can then be used to develop hypotheses regarding the archeological correlates (signatures) of discrete battlefield events and behaviors. Once the beginning and end points of a behavior or action can be identified, individual and unit behaviors can be sequenced and the movement of individuals and units across the battlefield can be reconstructed. It is the ability to reconstruct battlefield events in both space and time that allows for a dynamic reconstruction of the battlefield.

Individual actions and movements must be viewed in the aggregate, as unit actions and movements are aggregates of individual actions and movements. As such, individual actions are often subsumed in unit actions and movements, the basic unit of analysis of battlefield actions. While individual actions can be identified on the battlefield, it is generally the units and their actions which are integrated into a cohesive spatial and temporal sequence to reconstruct and interpret the battlefield.

Gross patterns are defined as the spatial aspects of unit behaviors. Dynamic patterns are defined as analytical techniques (primarily firearm signature analysis achieved through comparative analysis of distinguishing attributes of bullets and shell casings of modern firearms) which allow for the identification of individual firearms on the battlefield. Gross patterning relies on a synchronic approach to battlefield reconstruction - a spatial composite of battlefield events achieved by correlating the historical record with the archeological record, but without reference to time (i.e. movement). Battle events, as expressed by discrete artifact distributions are placed in space, but not ordered in time. Dynamic pattern analysis takes the composite of battle events expressed in the archeological record and orders them in time through an ongoing assessment of

the congruence of the historical and archeological records and by tracking the movements of individuals and units across the battlefield through firearms identification.

Douglas Scott and Richard Fox developed the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern Approach during their study of the 1876 Battle of Little Bighorn, which sought to investigate the behavioral dynamics on the battlefield.¹⁵¹ The foundation of the Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern Approach is recognizing individual behavioral patterns, which is dependent on identifying singular positions and movements about the battlefield.

The key to a dynamic battlefield analysis as defined by Scott and Fox is modern firearm analysis that “allows resolution of individual positions and movements across the battlefield.”¹⁵² In the case of the Battle of Little Bighorn this was largely achieved through forensic ballistic analysis of thousands of bullets and cartridge cases which allowed researchers to track individual firearms across the battlefield. This integrated model of Gross-Pattern Analysis and Dynamic-Pattern Analysis has been the paradigm for Civil War and post-Civil War battlefield archeology and analysis since 1985.

Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut

The Dynamic Battlefield Pattern Approach, with its focus on modern firearm analysis would not appear to be applicable to the interpretation and reconstruction of seventeenth century battlefields such as the Siege and Battle of Saybrook Fort where the combatants used muskets and brass arrow points – projectile types not amenable to modern firearm analyses. Nonetheless, Scott’s approach has great utility for all battlefield studies which seek to move beyond static historical reconstructions and attempts to identify and interpret the actions and movements which

¹⁵¹ Scott et al. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*.

¹⁵² Scott et al. *Archeological perspective on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* P. 148.

influenced the progression and outcome of the battle. This approach was used very effectively in the study of the Battle of Mistick Fort and will be applicable for the actions and battles at Saybrook Fort during the siege.

The key to this analysis is the ability of battlefield archeologists to integrate the spatial dimensions of unit actions into a temporal framework. This does not necessarily require identification of individual behaviors through modern firearm analysis, such as was done for the Battle of Little Bighorn. In the context of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut this will be accomplished by identifying discrete unit actions and movements in the historic record (battlefield timeline), inferring possible archeological signatures based on the nature and distribution of battle-related objects, and testing the congruence of the recovered archeological signatures against the battlefield timeline. In this way, the recovered archeological signature could be placed in a temporal context and integrated into the sequence of battlefield actions and events. The biggest challenge will be to distinguish weapons and projectiles used and fire by Colonial and Native forces as presumably there is no basis to distinguish them other than their spatial context.

Battlefield Survey

The goals of Battlefield surveys are; 1) locate the historic and geographic extent of the battlefields on modern maps using GIS, 2) assess significance and integrity of battlefields (as defined in National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and registering America's Historic Battlefields), 3) provide an overview of surviving resources, and 4) assess short and long term threats to integrity. Battlefield survey methods rely heavily on identification and analysis of a wide range of physical and cultural features using readily available resources

such as USGS 7.5' series Topographic Maps, aerial photographs, historic maps and archeological surveys (walkover, remote sensing, subsurface testing) – all of which are used to identify important terrain features and site locations obtained from primary narratives or accounts of battles. There are three steps in this process: 1) Identify battlefield landscapes; 2) Conduct battlefield terrain analysis with KOCOA (**K**ey terrain, **O**bservation, **C**over and concealment, **O**bstacles, **A**venues of approach) and 3) Battlefield Survey (research, documentation, analysis, field visits, archeological survey, definition of battlefield Study and Core Areas, assessment of integrity and threats to battlefields, and map preparation). Specific tasks include:

- Research the battlefield event(s);
- Develop a list of battlefield defining natural and cultural features;
- Conduct a visual reconnaissance of the battlefield;
- Locate, document and photograph features;
- Map troop positions and features on a USGS topographic quadrangle;
- Define study and core engagement areas for each battlefield;
- Assess overall site integrity and threats

The final phase(s) of the entire process will be to “ground truth” battle events in Core Areas once landowner permissions are granted. Fieldwork will consist of walkover reconnaissance and visual inspection of the battlefield followed by archeological surveys in the form of metal detector surveys and limited subsurface surveys and perhaps limited excavations in some areas. Fieldwork is necessary to pin the battlefield events to identifiable locations and to acquire physical evidence (i.e. musket balls, brass arrow points, military accoutrements, etc.) to documents troop positions, actions and sites, define battlefield boundaries, refine study and core area boundaries, and assess site integrity.

VII. Provisional Long-Range Protection Plan

The next phase of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut will be to implement a long-range protection plan developed by the Battlefield Study Advisory Board upon completion of the Pre-Inventory Research and Documentation Plan. The first step in this process will be to apply for a National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program, Documentation and Site Identification grant to conduct battlefield archeological surveys within the core areas identified within the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area.

In addition to any future NPS ABPP funded projects considered by the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board there should be a focus on long term efforts to protect the battlefield(s) and inform the public through the development of a cultural park and heritage center. In 2009 a Great Falls Native Cultural Landscape Park was proposed and a conceptual plan is currently under development by town and tribal officials. The proposed park would encompass as much of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut battlefield site as feasible within the context of the 12,000 year indigenous history of the region. The park would be designed to include educational, cultural, and interpretive programs designed to facilitate scholarly research. It would also serve to encourage economic development through a program of heritage and cultural tourism. The Great Falls Native Cultural Landscape Park proposal could also help to build consensus among various stakeholders (town, tribal, land holders, business community, academics, etc.) regarding the importance and historical significance of the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut site.

The final step in the process will be to develop a preservation plan for the Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area which may contain some of the following elements:

Goal 1. – Maintain the Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield in its current or better state of preservation.

While many areas of the battlefield have been impacted by modern development, hundreds of acres appear to retain a moderate to high degree of visual and physical integrity. Maintaining this landscape in its present, or improved, state of preservation is a primary goal of this preservation plan. The overall goals and objectives of the preservation plan will be greatly facilitated by the current and ongoing support of the project by the towns of Gill, Greenfield, and Montague. Listing of the battlefield sites on the site on the National Register would also contribute to its future preservation.

Objective 1. Secure instruments of preservation (e.g. preservation easements, property ownership) for properties within the battlefield, and the properties that provide the battlefield with buffer zones from developed areas.

Objective 2. Develop site management plans for property managers.

Objective 3. Integrate preservation of the Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield in the planning and management of the larger historic landscape setting of Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut

With regard to Objectives 1 and 2, the property managers are key partners in maintaining the landscape of the battlefield, and their long-term cooperation is essential. The grant partners should inform and educate property owners about the process whereby easements are conveyed, encouraging them to consider the benefits of doing so. Likewise, the development of site

management plans should be a process that openly discusses the concerns of the property managers, and educates those managers regarding the historic significance of the landscape. The objective would be long-range plans for each property that would guide the property managers in their decision-making.

No source of funds has been identified at this time for the outright purchase of land within the battlefield study area; the grant partners should continue to look for such opportunities, and should work with local land conservation groups so that properties which contribute to the integrity of the battlefield be recognized as having a historical importance that adds to their worth.

Goal 2. Public Interpretation of the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield

The Battle of Great Falls / Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut is a historically significant event, worthy of public interpretation. If interpretation and education are well-done, and reach a large audience, a little known part of Massachusetts's past will be made public, and outreach regarding the site will also contribute to the likelihood of its long-term preservation. Making public the history and significance of the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield must be done without jeopardizing its integrity, or harming the site in any way, and must be done in a manner acceptable to the property managers affected by it.

Objective 1. Determine if on-site interpretation is desirable and if there is an appropriate location for on-site interpretation.

Objective 2. Develop a plan for securing an appropriate interpretive site (including funding) and implementing interpretation.

Objective 3. Conduct public education outreach.

Objectives 1 and 2 will require consultation with the grant partners and other interested parties. Issues that will need to be addressed include determining how close to the actual battlefield site we should direct the visitors—too close, and threats to the site from pot-hunting and careless disregard increase, too far, and the interpretation loses meaning. Additionally, the concerns of the property managers are a central issue that will determine the placement of any permanent interpretation in the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield area.

The grant partners should consider ways of reaching the public beyond a physical installation. Web-based and printed information about the project, the place, and the ongoing study could be created and disseminated. Again, more information available to the interested public means more potential advocates for the preservation of the battlefield area, but may also mean increased visitation resulting in damage, whether intentional or not.

Goal 3. – Continue to study Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut as a significant historic and cultural place through research and field investigations.

The Study Area defined for the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield is part of a larger cultural, geographic and temporal context. This larger study area is significant not just because of the events that occurred there in King Philip’s War, but because of its much longer use by Tribal people, in both a quotidian and a ceremonial way. It is impossible to reasonably plan for the protection of the greater Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield area without knowing the location and integrity of its associated cultural resources.

Objective 1. Continue to Study the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield and its relation to the larger spatial and temporal Native history of the region

Objective 2. Continue to study the Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield as a potentially significant traditional ceremonial place.

VIII. Appendices

Appendix I: Combatants of the Falls Fight

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Source</i>
Allis, William		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Ashdowne, John		Weymouth	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Atherton, Rev. Hope	Chaplain	Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
Avis, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 9
Barnard, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 14
Barill [Bardwell], Sergt.	Sergt.		Turner, William	Capt.	Doc. 74 1 Colonial War, CSL; Wells & Wells 1910, 85
Belcher, John		Braintree	Turner, William	Capt. Took the horse of Isaac Harrison, a wounded man, and was brought to court for disorderly conduct	Judd 1905, 164; Judd 1863, 172
Belden, Stephen		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Judd 1905, 164
Bennet, James		Northampton	Turner, William	Capt.	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Bicknell, Joseph			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 22
Brissenden, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 32
Bryan, Robert			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 36
Buckley, George			Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Burton, Jacob			Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Church, John		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001,1; Judd 1863, 172
Chapin, Japhet		Northampton	Turner, William	Capt.	Chapin 1862, 4
Clough, William			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 53
Colfax, John		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Coniball, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 56
Creek, Edward			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 61
Crow, Samuel		Hadley	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Cunneball, John			Turner, William	Capt. Slain	Doreski 1982, 64
Dason, Henry			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 65
Davis, Samuel			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 67
Dickenson, John	Sergeant	Hadley	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	Bodge 1906, 245; usgennet.org 2001, 1
Draw [Drew], William			Turner, William	Capt.	Doc. 74, 1 Colonial War, CSL
Drinker, Edward			Turner, William	Capt.	Doreski 1982, 76
Duncan, Jabez		Worcester	Turner, William	Capt. Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2

			William			
Elgar, Thomas		Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Elliott, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 82
Finch, Henry			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 88
Foote, Nathaniel		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 88
Foster, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Fowler, Joseph			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Gallop, Joseph			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 97
Gerin, Peter			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Gillet, Samuel		Hatfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Gilman, Ezekiel			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 102
Hadlock, John		Roxbury	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Harrison, Isaac		Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2; Judd 1863, 172
Hewes, George		Springfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Hinsdell, Experience	Guide	Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	Bodge 1906, 245; usgennet.org 2001, 1
Hodgman, Edward		Springfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Holmes, Samuel			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 128
Holyoke, Samuel	Lieutenant	Springfield	Turner, William	Capt.		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171; Hubbard 1677, 85-86
Howard, William			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Jameson, William			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 136
Judkins, Samuel			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 143
Kellogg, Joseph	Sergeant	Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
Lamson, Joseph			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 149
Langbury, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Lyman, John	Ensign	Northampton	Turner, William	Capt.		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
Lyon, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1
Mann, Josiah		Boston	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Megunneway			Abanaki (Tarratine)			Ellis & Moris, 226
Miller, John		Northampton	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Munn, John			Turner, William	Capt.		Everts 1879, 600
Nims, Godfrey			Turner, Capt.		"In 1692 he bought the home lot where his life's tragedies were enacted"	Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association 1908, 62
Orris, Johnathan			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 177
Parsons, William			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 181

Pessacus			Narragansett			Ellis & Morris, 226
Pike, Joseph		Springfield	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Priest, Joseph			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 195
Pumham			Narragansett			Ellis & Morris, 226
Rainsford, Samuel			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Roberts, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Roper, Ephraim			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 204
Ruggles, George			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Seares, Robert			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 211
Skinner, Thomas			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 215
Smith, Matthias			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 217
Squire, Philip			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 221
Stewart, H.			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 224
Stiff, Elias			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 224
Sutliff, Nathaniel		Deerfield/Pocumtuck	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 1; Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association 1908, 61
Symms, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Taylor, John		Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Tay (Toy), Isaiah	Ensign		Turner, William	Capt.		Bodge 1906, 245
Watson, John			Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	Doreski 1982, 238
Turner, William	Captain	Boston	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	Doreski 1982, 238
Veze, Samuel		Braintree	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Wait, Benjamin	Guide		Turner, William	Capt.		Bodge 1906, 245; Judd 1863, 171
Walker, John		Northampton	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Wecopeck, John		Narragansett				Hough 1858, 180
Wells, Jonathan (age 16)		Hadley	Turner, William	Capt.	"Johnathan Wells, of Hadley, was wounded, and after much suffering and several narrow escapes, reached Hatfield on Sunday"	Judd 1863, 172
Wenanaquabin		Narragansett				Hough 1858, 179
Whitteridge, John		Salem	Turner, William	Capt.	Slain	usgennet.org 2001, 2
Whitwell, Bartholomew			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 252
Wood, Mark			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 257
Wright, Edward			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 259
Wright, Henry			Turner, William	Capt.		Doreski 1982, 259

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Appendix II: Timeline of Contextual Events

Sequence	Action	Location	People	Event Details	Response	Source:
9 November 1665	Land removal	Warwick, RI Colony	Punham, John Eliot to Sir Robert Carr	Punham and Indians to remove from Warwick and their planting lands. “John Eliot, of Roxbury, to Sir Robert Carr, interceding for Punham” (p. 134)	“Punham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English ; and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them, to drive them or deceive them out of their lands. They are in no wise willing to part with that little which they still hold. I beseech you to deale honourably by them, as being one of the Honourable Commissioners of his Majestie. Let them feele and find in you the effects of a noble mind towards the poore and helplesse” (p. 134)	Bartlett 1857, 134
1667	Nipmuc Complain to Massachusetts about Narragansett	Mass Bay	Narragansett Sachem, Nipmuc Old Squaws	Nipmmuc Indians file a complaint against the Narragansetts to Mass Bay officals. Nipmucs acquse the Narragansetts for their “distressed condition” having destroyed their homes, corn, taken 8 guns and hogs, deer skin, wampum, wood, cotton, kettles. Narragansetts enter the Old Squa’s hut, she was blind...[rought transcription] “the meal [?] in it and gave it t her to eat she ded of it...eat it but with in 4 dayes after that squa died...”		Vol. 30: 138a, “Indian Affaires 1603- 1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachu setts Archive Collection</i> , Massachu setts State Library.
May 1667	Indians to be disarmed – leading to KPW	RI Colony	Thomas Willmott of Secunk, King Philip	England at war with the French and Dutch, and Indian hostilities	“Indians, especially of Philip, which giveth great occasion of suspicion of them and their treacherous designs. It is therefore ordered, that the Indians residing upon the Island shall bee forthwith disarmed of all sorts of arms, and that the Captain and militarie officers meeting with any Indian armed, they are	Bartlett 1857, 193

					authorized to seize the armes, and by authority from the magistracie of eyther towne....are to search and seize any armes to them belonging....And it is ordered, that iff in Rhode Island, or any other townes, any Indian shall be walking in the night time, he shall be seized by the watch and kept in custody till morning, and brought before the magistrate” (p.193)	
29 April 1668	Native submission	Mendon, Marlboroug h, Mass Bay	Nipmuc, Ketuhhunit, Uppekchokt uk, Wubumahek kein, Wautesuk, Wussaumau dus, Tuhkomis, Papaumwoit , Wuhompeh	“The humble submission...of the Native indian sagamores & people of Nipmuce inhabiting within the bounds of the pattent of Massachusetts; and neare adjoinyng onto the English towne settled f Mendon & Marlborough”		Vol. 30:146, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachu setts Archive Collection</i> , Massachu setts State Library.
1670	Native industry weaponry	Mount Hope	Hugh Cole’s report to Plymouth Court	“when I came to Mount Hope, I saw the most part of the Indians that I knew of Shewamett Indians, there at Mount Hope. And they were generally employed in making of bows and arrows and half pikes, and fixing up of guns” (p. 211)		Hugh Cole to Plymouth Court, 1670, “Cudwort h letters” 1846, p. 211
Spring 1670	Jail captivity	Newport, RI	John Carr, Quinapint	“The Assembly having well weighted the ill consequences that may ensure from the insolencye of John Carr, late prisoner in the jayle at Newport, where hee with Quinaapint, an Indian prisoner, broke the prison the 26 th of		Bartlett 1857, 295

				December last past, at night, and got over to Narragansett, where they both gave out threatening to doe mischief to the English, &c., thereabouts residing ; and in order to put their intentiones in execution, have been some months past preparing to fight, and drawing the Indians into conspiracye soe to keep themselves from justice” (p. 295)		
1 August 1671	Attempt to disarm peace attempt rumor	Natick	John Eliot	“We, the poor church at Natick, hearing that the honoured rulers and good people of Plymouth are pressing and arming of soldiers to go to war against the Missogkonnog Indians, (for what cause we know not), though they yet pray not to God, yet we hope they will; and we do mourn and pray for them, and desire greatly that they may not be destroyed” (p. 201)	“Therefore, we do send these our two brethren, Anthony and William, and we request John Sausiman to join them” (p. 201)	Instructions form the Church at Natick to William and Anthony, 1 Aug. 1671, “Cudworth letters” 1846, pp. 201-203
12 October 1671	Burnt infrastructure	Milford, Connecticut Colony	Milford Indians against the English	“Whereas some Indians who have lately or now doe inhabit wthin the bownds of Milford have made some complaint to this Court of some injury that they have received from the English in burning their forte or at least (as they say,) in cutting it down, and they desireing that this Cour would please seriously to consider their case and right them therein, and allo appoint them a place to build their forte upon” (p. 167)	This case is refered to the New Haven County court, “And this Court oth judg it meet that the Milford Sachem should be allowed libery [of] about twenty six men wth their famalys of the Pawgussett Indians, for their farher security till the troubles and wars with the Indians be over “(p. 168)	Trumbull 1852, 167-168
3 June 1674	Farming	Hadley, MA		The Mass Bay “Countrys farme in ye new plantation above Hadley” (p. 9). The plantation is 200 acres and more toward the “remote lands,” settlers	Encroachment	Shurtleff 1854, 9

				encouraged “at such rates as they can” (p. 9)		
7 October 1674	Rape Slavery prison	Mass Bay	Tom, the Indian	“In ansr to the petition of Tom, the Indians condemned by the last Court of Assistants to dy for his rape, &c., humbly acknouledging his offenc, pretending ignoranc of the law, &c, the Court judgeth it meet to grant his request for saving his life, but order, that he be sold for a slave for ten years, to be sent to the English living in some parts of the West Indjes, remaining in prison till be he sent away” (p. 25)		Shurtleff 1854, 25
13 May 1675	Pequot Charge English appointment of Native leaders	Connecticut Colony	Major Talcott	Major Talcott was given the “commission for Robin and Herman Garrett for the governing of the Pequot Indians, and to appoint them some under officers, and to give them some order with some penalties annexed, profanation of the Sabboth, for not attending the lectures of Mr. Fitch amongst them according to this appointment, for theft and drunkenness, & c.; and to empower him in case of difficulty to repayre to Mr. Tho: Stanton and Lnt Avery for counsel, advice and assistance, as the difficulty shall require; and to order Robin some small allowance for his Government, to be rayseed upon his people” (p. 257)		Trumbull 1852, 257
24 June 1675	War talk Native relations	Nipmuc Country	King Philip, Pocomp, Nashavanca, Eshover Indian, Peppeshva, Wawamanit, Comblgavas	“Nipmuc Sachems agree not to aid Philip,”...and to “hold subjection to ye English of Massachusetts”...(169) “the rouser of Chabonakonon” does not agree Philip because “he is become a praying indian the sachems they no Love” (170)		Vol. 30: 169-170, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachu</i>

			o			<i>setts</i> <i>Archive</i> <i>Collection</i> , Massachu setts State Library.
25 June 1675	Fear war mortality	Swansea, MA	Uncas, King Philip, English	“sad providence that yesterday fell out at Mattapoise (Swansey), of the loss of six men, without doubt, you have from our general, which may, I desire, be an inducement to you to strengthen our towns, that are weakened by our departure ; since the Indians do their exploits on outhouses and straggling persons. It is reported, credibly, that Uncas sent Philip twenty men last Saturday was se’n night ; and sent him word, that if he sent him six English heads, all the Indians in the country were engaged against the English” (p. 87)	“The forces are dispersed to several places to the town, and some to Rehoboth, which this day we intend to draw into a narrower compass ; which, when we have done, we intend to lay ambushment in the Indians’ walks, to cut off their men, as they do to cut off our men ; for their present motion is to send forth scouts to lie in our walks, to make discovery, and cut off our men” (p. 87)	Nathaniel Thomas to Governor Winslow; Cudworth Letters 1846, 86-87
July 1675	Cultural threat	Mass Bay	Narragansett s, Potok	“July, 1675, they complied to a treaty of continuing in peace and friendship with the English. But among other articles, the Narragansetts, by their agent Potuche (Potok), urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel or call upon them to pray to God. But, the English refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn, and a peace concluded for that time. In this act they declared what their hearts were....But the Lord Jesus, before the expiration of 18 months, destroyed the body of the Narragansett nation” (p. 439).		Gookin 1999, 439
2 July 1675	Native service			Praying Indians recruited by Daniel Gookin, numbering 52, were sent to		Gookin 1999,

				Mt. Hope under the command of Capt Issac Johnson,” Major Savage’s post (p. 442-443).		442-443
9 July 1675	Trade Relations	Mas Bay	English-Natives	“Treasurer to license persons to sell any Indian or Indians, not in hostility wth us, powder, shott, lead, guns, hand gunnes, rapier blades, swords, &c, on condition therein exprest” (p. 45)		Shurtleff 1854, 45
Friday, 17(17) July 1675	War skirmish mortality rate WIA lack of provisions	Mount-Hope Neck	James Cudworth, Old Indian Wittoma	“On Friday last I marched out with about an hundred and twenty men, to search for Philip and squaw sachem; and as we were marching we saw two Indians, one was shot down, the other fled; and before we killed him, he declared, by pointing, whereabout the squaw sachem was, and whereabout Philip was; so we marched to find out the squaw sachem; and in our travel were fired upon of the bushes, and in and out of swamps were fired at, and we had a hot dispute....we lost two men, and four more wounded. On Monday following we went to see if we could discover Philip; the Bay forces being now with us; and in our march, two miles before we came to the place of rendezvous, the captain of the Forlorn was shot down dead; three more were then killed or died that night, and five or six more dangerously wounded. The place we found was a hideous swamp....only one old man, that we took there, who said, Wittoma was there that day, and that Philip had (p. 84), been there the day before...we having dead men and wounded men, that in the skirmish we had with him on Friday, that we killed seven men, and hurt and wounded	Due to the lack of supplies and provisions troops are held at the Pocassett garrison	James Cudworth to Gov. Josiah Winslow, Cudworth Letters 1846, 84

				<p>divers others....another garrison at Pocasset; and to have flying army, to be in motion to keep the Indians from destroying out cattle, and fetching in supply of food; which being attended, will bring them to great straights; and therefore we judge it best not to give up our garrison until further order; and we see a necessity, that divers of our men should come home, being tired and worn out by labour and travel, by wants and straights; for indeed we have been sadly on it, upon account of provision; and unless some more effectual course may be taken for the future, there is no possibility for men to hold out; so that we judge an hundred men at least, must be for the garrison and army; and we judge a flying army about the town, that may be helpful to get in men's harvests, and so to fly from one town to another, whose constant motion keep the enemy in fear" (p.85).</p>		
Ca. 24 August 1675	Mortality WIA KIA	"Hatfield side"	Captain Lothrop and Beers, then stationed in Hadley	<p>Ventured on the Hatfield side to disarm the Indians, some the Indians flee, expect an old Indian man who refused and was killed by his Indians. Lathrop and Beers follow the Indians with 100 men (1/2 sent back to defend Hadley). In parley, 40 Indians lay fire followed by an English volley. Natives drop luggage and retreat into the swamp. The fight lasts for three hours resulting in the death of six English (one English shot in the back by friendly fire); 7th died of wounds on way home, and two died the following night; of the Natives 26 were killed (p. 134).</p>		Judd 1905, 134

25 August 1675	War Native alliance	Sugar Loaf Hill, “10 miles above Hatfield”	Norwottucks , Pocumtucks	The August 25 th battle of 1675	The Norwottucks, Pocumtucks and the Deerfield Indians unite sometime thereafter to the English (p. 163)	Judd 1905, 136
1 September 1675	Mortality burnt infrastructure	Deerfield – Pocumtuck	James Eggleston of Windsor, left at Deerfield by Capt. Watts	Garrison soldier James Eggleston was shot while looking for his horse, and Indians burn most of their houses and barns, and killed two more English “by their forts” (p. 135).		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
1 September 1675	Raid Concealment	Hadley	Rev. John Russell, Generals Edward Whalley and William Goffe	Generals Whalley and William Goffe concealed in the home of Rev. John Russell in Hadley for as early as 1664. Goffe rallies the town’s people of Hadley to defend themselves (p. 138).		Judd 1905, 138-139
2 September 1675	Mortality			Natives from the Squakheag fort kill 8 Englishmen (p. 135)		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
3-4 September 1675	Mortality hunger captive drunkenness	Squakeag	Capt. Beers and men	On September 3 “Capt. Beers set forth [from Hadley] with about 36 men and some carts to fetch off the garrison at Squakheag, and coming within three miles of the place, the next morning		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of

				[Sept. 4 th] were set upon by a great number of Indians from the side of a swamp, where was a hot dispute for some time. They having lost their Captain and some others, resolved at last to fly, and going to take horse, lost several men more, I think about twelve; the most escaped got to Hadley that evening; next morning another came in, and at night another had been taken by the Indians, and loosed from his bonds by a Natick Indian; he tells that the Indians were all drunk that night, that they mourned much for loss of a great captain, that the English had killed twenty-five of their men. Six days later, another soldier came in, who had been lost ever since the fight, and was famished, and so lost his understanding that he knew not what day the fight was on” (p. 135)		Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
5 (Sunday) - 6 (Monday) September 1675	Mortality WIA Zoonosis burial practice	Squakeag	Major Treat	Troops come to the site where Capt. Beers was executed; “his men were much daunted to see the heads of Capt. Beers’ soldiers upon poles by the wayside,” and were fired upon by 14 Indians, Major Treat wounded in the thigh (superficial non-critical wound), by the time they make it to the fort the 6 th , then men left the cattle and the bodies unburied (p. 135)		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Nothhamp ton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
6 September 1675	Burnt infrastructure	Northfield	Major Treat	After Major Treat leaves Northfield, Natives attack and destroy Northfield (p. 137)		Judd 1905, 137
September 1675	War Native population statistics	Maine		War in Maine begins, Judd says different war than that of KPW. The Indians in New England, excluding		Judd 1863, 135

				Maine may have numbered 21,000. In 1675, King Philip had 850-900 men, 3500 including women and children. These Natives were mostly Nipmucks (nearly ½), and the rest were Mass Bay Indians (p. 135)		
Sunday September 12 1675		Pocomtuck		Indians attack 22 men at Pocomtuck that were making their way from one garrison to the next. Not one man killed. One man captured (pp. 135-136). After the Indians meet on the hill “in a Meadow” (Dearfield Meadow) burnt two homes, killed “many horses” and took away horse-loads of beef and pork” (p. 136).		Judd 1905 125-136.
15 September 1675	War living relations infrastructure	Hadley vicinity	Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northhampton, Increase Mather, Wappaye, Deac. Goodman	“Wamppaye told Deac. Goodman of Hadley, before the war broke out, that there would be war between the Indians and English this summer. 4. Before tidings of the war in Plymouth colony had been received, our Indians, who in all times of danger and war, had been wont to seek shelter by crowding into our homelots, as near our houses as possible, and begging house-room for their stuff and themselves, now, on a sudden, plucked up their wigwams, and took away the goods they had laid up in our houses. 5. They shot bullets at our men five several times, in diverse places,-one at John Clary as he was passing by the fort in the road, between Northampton and Hatfield” (p. 133).		Letter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton to Increase Mather, Judd 1905, 133-136
Saturday 18 September 1675	Mortality provisions Turners Fall connection	Guard provisions from Deerfield to Hadley, MA	Capt. Lathrop	Lothrop ordered to move supplies from Deerfield to Hadley, MA for safety and was attacked by Indians coming out of the swamp. Many of the men left their arms in the carts while	All 64 English that were killed were buried the next day (p. 141)	Judd 1905, 140-141

				they went to gather grapes...”killed Capt. Lothrop and above three score of his men, stripped them of their clothes, and left them to lie weltering in their blood. Capt. Mosely, who was gone out [from Deerfield] to range the woods, hearing the guns, hastened to their help, but before he could come, the other captain and his men were slain” (p. 140). Shortly after, Treat and Uncas’s Indians (above 100 men) aided; few (11 slain and or wounded) of Mosely’s men died (p. 140). Later intelligence of One-eyed John to James Quannaphoit states that 96 Indian died, above 40 wounded (many of these died shortly after) and those of slain removed by the battlefield from fellow Native combatants (p. 140)		
20-21 September 1675	Abandoned Relocation	Deerfield abandoned		Deerfield Abandoned	Inhabitants remove to Hatfield, etc.	Judd 1905, 142
26 September 1675	Burnt infrastructure provisions	“west side of the river”	Major Pynchon	Pynchon’s farm house, barns with grain and hay set afire and destroyed by Indians (p. 143)	The following winter Pynchon keeps cattle and supplies at Lyme, CT (p. 143)	Judd 1905, 143
28 September 1675	English scouting turned bad Mortality	Northampton	Praisever Turner, Uzackaby Skackspeer	Major Pynchon writes that he has been sending out English scouts, however they are “Awk” and we have no Indian friends to scout for us, and two English men Turner and Shackspeer “being gone out in the morning to cut wood, and but a little from the house, were both shot down dead, having two bullets a piece shot into their breasts. The Indians cut off their scalps, took their arms and were off in a trice” (pp. 142-143).		Judd 1905, pp. 142-143
Fall 1675	Subsistence threat Eco-			100 men under the command of Plymouth Captain Gorham and Lieut.		Gookin 1999, 467

	military tactic			Upham of Mass, sent to “Nipmuck Country to destroy the enemy’s cornfields that they had deserted, and to hinder their relief thereby in the winter” (p. 467).		
Monday, October 4, 1675	Indian captivity	Naick, Punkapoag petition	Peter Indian, John Kingley of Milton, Samell umpatuin, Mist Waban, Ninacow, Daniell Tokouwomp t, Captain Jon Hum_, William hahaton, James Rumnymars h, Thomas Rumnymars h	Petition of several Indians from Natick and Punkapoag for the release of Peter Indian (one among the five praying Indians) that was taken captive by enemy forces and discovered by the English in lat August Plimoth and since sold to John Kingley of Milton whom he served well. Peter at some point was committed to prison, and it is asked that he be able to return home to his wife and children.		Vol. 30: 229, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
Tuesday 5 October 1675	Burnt Infrastructure Relocation Provisions	Springfield, MA	Mr. Glover, Mr. Hitchcock, Goodman Stewart, John Pynchon	The destruction of Springfield resulting in the loss of several barns burnt and stored corn, Pynchon’s grist mill and corn mill, and other buildings he had leased to tenants. Two buildings spared, two garrison houses at the “lower end of town” (p. 144). Total of 32 buildings and barns. John Russel in his letter states there are 13 homes standing (p. 144)		Judd 1905, 144
Tuesday 5 October 1675	Engagement Mortality rate Native warrior statistics Population statistics	Springfield, MA vicinity	Lt. Cooper, Thomas Miller, Wequogon	Lt. Coppers visits the “Springfield” Native fort and Wequogon gives his word of friendship only to be shot down a quarter mile “out of town” and he was killed with Thomas Miller of Springfield (p. 144). In this		Judd 1905, 145

	Quabaug Assoc. WIA			engagement four wounded (Nathaniel Browne and Edmund Pringridays, died a few days after(p. 145) It is reported that there were 100 Indians with Wequogon, and one of his captains declared that he had also burnt Quabaug (p. 144). Reported that there are 50 families “left alone at Hadley” (p. 144).		
Wednesday 6 October 1675	Destruction of Springfield mortality	Springfield, MA	John Russell	13 houses left standing at Springfield; two men and one women killed		Judd 1905, 144-145
13 October 1675	Fear	Boston, MA		“Whereas, notwithstanding the councils former prohibition of all Indians coming to, or remaining in, the toune of Boston, wee finde that still there remajnes ground of feare that, unless more effectuall care be taken, we may be exposed to mischief by some of that barbarous crew, or any strangers, not of our nation, by the coming into or residing in the toune of Boston” (p. 46)	Ordered that no one in the town of Boston can entertain an Indian, Indians must be escorted by two musketeers upon entering the towne, but not allowed to stay unless the prison. All Indians found without a guard are to be “apprehended” (p. 46). Military watch, Charlestown Ferry not to admit any Indians (p. 47)	Shurtleff 1854, 46-47
13 October 1675	War Military Laws	Boston, MA	Mass Bay Officials	Commanders to keep their soldiers on duty, no “blaspheme” against God or “upon paine to have his tongue bored wth a hot iron;” negligent duty shall be punished, no soldiers must argue or strike their superiors or risk penalty of death, no soldier shall leave his position without license or fear death, silence is mandatory upon lodging and when marching to battle (p. 49). “No man shall utter any words of sedition or mutiny, upon paine death;” no drunkenness, no “Rapes, ravishments, unnaturall abuses, & adultery shall be punished by death;” no theft and no murder, when called to assemble must		Shurtleff 1854, 49-50

				be done fully armed, “none shall presume to spoyle, sell, or carry away any ammunition committed unto him, upon payne of death” (p. 50).		
13 October 1675	War Indian removal	Braintree, Milton	Puncapaug Indians	Puncapouge Indians are given the freedom to remove with their possessions near Braintree and Milton and must not be disrupted in their removal but aided to such place (p. 53)	Puncapauge nearly complete a fort for “securing southern passages & inlets upon our plantations” and that Major Suffolke “appoint out of the towns of Dorchester, Milton & Braintry 16-20 soldiers, well armed to reside at Punkepauge, under the command of a meete person wch souldiers together wth the Indians of the place, use all diligence by scouting and ranging in the woods between Weymouth & Naticke to prevent or give intelligence of the approach of the enemy or any strange Indians” (p. 55)	Shurtleff 1854, 53, 55
13 October 1675	War Indian removal Fear	Sherburne, MA	Nattick Indians and Henry Lealands of Sherburne	“Upon information given to this Court of three Indians of Naticke that are separated from the rest of the Indians there, and now resyding with HenryLealands, of Sherburne, wth drawing themselves as suspecting those Indians to have some designe against the English, the Court doeth order & hereby appoint Mr William Avery, Ensign Thomas Fuller, & Serjant Ellis, forthwith to convent the sajd three Indians before them, & strictly to examine them as to” (p. 56)		Shurtleff 1854, 56
13 October 1675	War Indian acquisition Fear Indian removal	Wamesicke, near Chelmsford, MA	Indians at Wamesicke, old man Mannapaugh and his young man Mannanesit, Uncas, William Hawkins	“It is ordered, that the major general forthwith take order to secure the Indians at Wamesicke, & about Chelmsford. Upon the Courts hearing the evidences produced against Wm Hawkins, Indian, as to the firing the haystack at Chelmsford, sentenct him to be sent away by the Treasurer. Two Indians, one an old man named Mannapaugh, & Mannanesit, a young		Shurtleff 1854, 58

				man, his sonn, pretending themselves to belong to Uncas, being found at Chelmsford, where the haystack was fired, giving no reason to their coming & staying here, was judged to be spyes, and ordered to be sent away by the Treasurer” (p. 58).		
14 October 1675	Men recruited	Connecticut Colony		Of those men levied Capt. James Avery for New London to raise 40 English with Pequots, Captain John Mason 20 English from Norwich with Moheags (p. 268)		Trumbull 267-269
16 October 1675	Native warrior statistics Captivity torture	Springfield, Vernon, Vermont vicinity		Letter from Capt. Appleton, captured Indian squaw of Springfield informs that there were 270 Indians that attacked Springfield, and 600 warriors total now at Coasset, a place 50 miles from Hadley (p. 146)	The Indian squaw later feed and torn apart by dogs at the hands of Capt. Mosley (her crime not metioned) (p. 146)	Judd 1905, 146
Tuesday 19 October 1675	Hatfield attacked Native warrior statistics Turner’s Fall connection	Hatfield, MA	Capt. Mosely and Capt. Poole	700-800 Native warriors attack Hatfield, took two/three scouts taken, and 7 of Mosley’s men taken; Capt. Appleton’s sergeant “mortally wounded just be his side; Natives that night recover their dead (p. 147)		Judd 1905, 147
1675	Hatfield attack	Hatfield		27 people at Hatfield, burnt homes and took 23 captive to “French territories.” Captives included Ben Wait and Jenings. In May the following six months 19 of the English captives were returned....and about that time “French Indians carried away Wannalantet and his small party from Patuxet, Wee never heard since what became of them, for to the French they were not brought, nor yet among the Easterne Indians: therefore it is conjectured that the Moquas and met them and seized them all and put them to death, or kept them in bondage”		“94. Accounts of Indian Raids on New England,” <i>Egerton Collection</i> 2395, ff. 518, 520. British Museum.
20	Burnt	Northampton		A few Indians left over from the		Judd

October 1675	infrastructure	n, MA		Hatfield attack, burn 4-5 houses and 2-3 barns on the outer parts of Northampton (p. 148)		1905, 148
20 October 1675	Dislocation impoverishment imprisonment			Joseph Cook of Cambridge ordered to Mass Bay Court to inform them of the “Wamesitt Indians were upon the way coming down to order, and that they might be there on the morrow...number about one hundred and forty-five men, women, and children, whereof about thirty-three were men that were all unarmed; that many of them were naked, and several of them decrepit with age, sundry infants, and all wanted supplies of food, for they were fain to leave most they had behind them, except some matters their carried upon their backs” (Gookin 1999, 472). All were sent back to their inhabitants, except the 33 able men that were due in Charlestown Court for inspection, kept in prison (p. 472).		Gookin 1999, 472
29 October 1675	Mortality rate	Meadow, Northampton vicinity	John Roberts, Joseph Baker and son Joseph, Thomas Salmon	Joseph Baker and his son Joseph, and Thomas Salmon were killed while working the field; John Roberts a wounded soldier dies in Northampton about the same time (p. 148)		Judd 1905, 148
30 October 1675	Relocation			Samuel Shrimpton of Boston, owner of Deer Island, grants permission to use his Island as a place to home to the Natick Indians (about 200 in number) under the premise that no wood be cut and none of his sheep injured (p. 473).		Gookin 1999, 473
1675	Disease causation			“these poor Christians lost their lives by war, sickness, and famine ; and some were executed that came in to us : it was a great scandal to the Christian		Gookin 1999, 477

				religion professed” (p. 477).		
November 1675	Conscription	Essex County	John Loughton	“John Loughton, complained of for running away after being impressed for the service against the Indians, and alleging that another man was sent to serve in his room, who was accepted by him who had the present command, but court considering that he ought to have brought his discharge under the officer’s hand, ordered that he had freed from the penalty that law requires, but pay all the charges of this prosecution” (p. 89)		Essex Country Recs 1917, 89
3 November 1675	Captivity	Mass Bay, islands		“Whereas this Court have, for weighty reasons, placed sundry Indians (that have subjected to our govern) upon some islands for their and our security...It is orderd, that none of the said Indians shall presume to goe off the said islands voluntarily, upon pain of death; and that is shallbe lawfull for the English to destroy those that they shall finde stragling off from the said places of their confinement” (p. 63)		Shurtleff 1854, 63
3 November	Provisions conscription	Mass Bay		Men inmpressed to help gather corn; and due to the difficulties of the Indian War the “Judge meete that the law prohibiting importation of wheat, bisket, & flower be suspended as to the particulars above mentioned, until this Court take further order” (p. 64). ...”This Court, considering the great danger of a famine, or at least a scarsity of break and other provisions, by reason of this war, if the Lord gratioously prevent not” (p. 64)	To prevent famine men conscripted to gather corn, exports prohibited, such attemps to export will be confinscated (p. 64)	Shurtleff 1854, 64
3 November 1675	Abandonment	Mendon, Mass Bay		“Inhabitants of Mendon not to quit their habitatin on penalty,” those who leave forfeit their stakes at Mendon (p. 65)		Shurtleff 1854, 65

3 November 1675	Native wrongfully accused	Mass Bay	Wannalauset s 2 Indians	“Whereas two Indians, that came in from Wannalauset, upon a safe conduct from the council, have, through some mistake, been sentenced by this Court to be sold, which now appearing, it is ordered, that the said sentence be reversed, & that they be otherwise disposed of for their own and the country's security. The names of the Indians are Monnipaugh & Mannassett. And although the said persons should be sold, yet the keeper shall not deliver them without order of this Court or council” (p. 68)		Shurtleff 1854, 68
24 November 1675 (though on old Calendar may be Jan. 24, 76)	Native settlements WIA KIA Native ritual French relations	Around Lancaster	Native James Quanapaug, Job Indian, spies	300 Native soldiers situated 30 miles from Lancaster at a place called Menemesseg “twenty miles to the northward of Connecticut Path” where they have “bark wigwams for shelter, and some mats; have pork, beef, and venison plenty. Their corn, he thinks, will fall short” (p. 205); Native Tuckup was appointed by Philip to kill James Speen, Andrew Pitimy, captain Hunter, Thomas Quanapu and Peter Ephraim if “they came into their hands; and said, I was one of the worst, and they would kill me, because I went up with the army to Swansey, where Pebe and one of Philip’s 147 counselors were killed, and that I helped to cut off their hands, and bade me look to myself. Next morning I went to one-eyed John’s wigwam. He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend for many years, and had helped kill Mohawks; and said, nobody should meddle with me. He said if any body hurt me they should die. Then came Matoonus his		James Quanapau g’s Information, 24. 11 mo., 1675, “Cudworth letters” 1846, pp. 205-208

				<p>company and others, went dancing; we painted our faces and went dancing with them, and were very good friends. The dance continued two or three nights, after which they looked badly upon me again.....I asked one-eyed John, how many men he lost; he said, but two. I asked him how many he lost about Hatfield: he said, he lost one in the fight with captain Beers; another in fight with captain Lathrop. He had about forty men under him” (p. 206). I asked him how many Philip and Northhampton Indians (p. 206) lost: he said, but two. I asked him how much ammunition he had : he said, half a peck of powder, and shewed me it. He said, he had it from the soldiers that were slain, some, and some from the fort of Orania. They have in these towns about twice so many women and children as are persons upon Deer island. He said, he expected help from the Wampaugs and Mohegins. The Frenchmen, that went up from Boston to Norwuthick, were with the Indians, and shwed them some letters, and burnt some papers there, and bid them they should not burn mills nor meeting-houses, for there God was worshipped; and told them that they would come by land, and assist them, and would have Connecticut river, and that ships would come from France and stop up the bay, to hinder English ships and soldiers coming. And this Indian told me, they would fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury and Medfield; and that first thing they would do should be to cut</p>	
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				<p>down Lancaster bridge; so to hinder their flight, and assistance coming to them; and that they intended to fall upon them in about 20 days's time from Wednesday last. The Narragansetts sent up one English head to them by two of their men; and they shot at the Narragansetts, told them they had been friends to the English, and that the head was nothing. Afterwards they sent up two more men, with twelve scalps; then they received them, and hung the scalps on trees....messenger came,...said, they lost but forty fighting men, and three hundred old men, women and children; and said they had a great English captain among them, who had killed five Englishmen; that captain Mosely was killed, and that the Narragansetts were drawing to Quantisick; tow hundred men were come then; that they are in three companies; Pomham is by himself, and Quananshet by himself; Ninegret is parted from them. They said Ninegret's men pretended to help the English, but were false, and did not shoot against the Indians; but the Mohegins killed more (p. 207) than the English. They said, there is an Englishman called Williams about Mr. Stanton's, who, after the fight came to the fort of the sachems to beg for his life, and he life of his wife and children, tendered them is cattle, corn, and foods, and to bring them powder he could. Robert Pepper is a prisoner among the Indians where I was; was wounded in the fight in the leg, and</p>	
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				got into a tree and lay there, and Sam of Mashaway took him, dragged him away, and abused him. After two days, Sam took him into his wigwam, and told him, if he did not doe of his wound he should not be killed, and doth now use him kindly. Pepper fold me, his master Sam said he should go home in the Spring. Philip hath two prisoners of the English, one Greenleaf's man, a ship carpenter, and a Barbados boy. Philip is well, and within half day's journey of the fort of Orania on that side; Hadley Indians on this side, a little distant one from the other. Sancumucha, Hadley Sachem, was ready to kill Philip; told him he had brought all this trouble on them. They lived very well by the English; two Mohaugs have been with them the last summer, and buy powder for them at Orania. Two Wampaugs are with them. The Old men are weary of the war, but the young men are for the continuance of it. They say, they have a good store of arms. Marlborough Indians are with them....it is reported, there is seven hundred fighting men, well armed, left of the Narragansetts" (p. 208)		
December 1675	Foodways Impoverishment relocation	Deer Island		Deer Island "For they lived chiefly upon claims and shell-fish, that they digged out of the sand, at low water : the Island was bleak and cold, their wigwams poor and mean, their clothes few and thin; some little corn they had of their own" (p. 485).		Gookin 1999, 485
Winter of 1675/February 1676	Native captives redeemed	Albany, NY	Benjamin Wait of Hatfield,	Benjamin Wait, having suffered from the 1675 Indian raid on Hatfield, was given permission in 1675 by the		Edgerton Collection 1675, ff.

	captives		MA	Governor of Quebec to pursue his wife, children and 23 captured English into the French Territories (Edgerton Collection 1675, ff. 518). Having meet with other English in Mohawk country, and information from French Jesuits, six months later Wait and his small party, including accompanying French men, returned back to Hatfield with 19 of the captured persons (Edgerton Collection 1675, ff. 518).		518, British Library Judd 1905, 148
26 December 1675 (Bill of doc. Filed 17 May 1676)	Morality Medical treatment	Swamp Fight Injuries Narraganset	Doctor Simon Cooper of Newport, RI, Captain Mason, Edward Shippy, Jacob Pierce, Joseph Ginings, Joseph Wheeler, John Sergeant, Joshua Baasham, Mark Makins	Captain Mason of Norrodg broke his skull, took out pieces, not cured; Edward Shippy of Seabrook shot through mouth and broke upper jaw “which the Surgions would not dress because ye said he was a deade man,” CURED; Jacob Pierce was wounded in the leg; Joshua Baasham wounded “in the breast,” left before Simon knew if cured; Mark Makings of Stratford “his shoulder blade shot to peese Cured”; Joseph Ginings of Wethersfield “shot into the heade his Jaw Brocke & many pieces taken out Cured”; “Joseph Wheeler of Milford wounded in ye arme Cured”; John Sergant of Gilford wounded in the back: Cured”(doc. 72)	The fact that these guys lived, even with delayed treatment – probably sent to Newport	Colonial War 1: 72a, CSL
December 1675- January 1676	Weather conditions	North of Brookfield, MA		Snow “mid-thigh deep”		Judd 1905, 150
28 January 1676	War pursuit Mortality Rate	Wickford northwesterly to Nipmuc Country	Major Treat and his 200-300 troops with some from	English in this pursuit killed and took an estimated 70 Natives (p. 154)		Judd 1905, 154

			Wickford (p. 154)			
1676	War	Syllery, New France	English Jesuits	KPW expands to New France Jesuits at Syllery a Mission of the Abnakis report 400 English soldiers that had gone out, and only 7-8 that returned and that portions of the towns were destroyed and sacked killing male and women English and made them slaves (p. 231)		Thwaites 1900, 231
10 February 1676	Mortality Captivity brunt infrastructure	Lancaster, MA	Mary Rowlandson and children	Nipmucks from Wenimesset and Narragansetts attack Lancaster, estimated about 400 (p. 154)	Killed or captured 42 English; burnt nearly all infrastructure (p. 154). The place after a few weeks was abandoned (p. 154)	Judd 1905, 154
6-9 February 1676	Mortality Captivity Burnt infrastructure	Mass Bay[?]	Mr. Stanton, Pequots, Patomtoo Indians	The Pequots and English pursue the Narragansett Indians – slew “four score and followed them neare about thr score and ten Mille the Enemies having Noties of our Armyes approaching the Sachems fled and their Wimen and Children and lefte sixty Patomtook Indians three hundred fitteing Men to way lay the army by the Ambuscadoes....they wounded five English men in the Rear of the Army after they weare beaten in the Fronte by our English and our Endyans. We slew at that Time five of the Uplanders and killed on of there chefe Captains (p. 140) the same Day took ye Towne and layed there all Night, the next day burned the Towne and then marched to the Metropolitente Place and found it deserted so fired nere five hundred Widgwames. This scalpe cared by the Bearer was a Endyon of greate Accounte and was taken with 25 persons more by the Pecoites Indyons upon their returning home after they		Stanton’s Letter on “Indyan News” Hough 1858, 140-141

				parted with the English....and his men killed two Men nere Noradg and took away a Boy alive this 6 February” (p.141).		
21 February 1676	Limited War Funds	Mass Bay		“Indians, who are found by experience to be very serviceable & necessary, & have binn imployed in a full proportion to the ffoote, it is hereby ordred, that that part of the order concerning troopers be repealed. Whereas the present war with the Indians hath so farr exhausted the country treasury, that there is not sufficiency to prosecute the said war to effect” (p. 71)		Shurtleff 1854, 71
21 February 1676	Dislocation slavery	Mass Bay	Authorizatio n by Major Richard Walderne and Major Nicholas Shapleigh	“Whereas severall Indians that belong to the eastern parts that had withdraune themselves lately come in & rendred themselves to mercy, & divers others are dayly expected in...to procure a peace with them & the English” and if no peace terms can be reached then the Indians are to be shipped elsewhere to prevent damage (p. 72)		Shurtleff 1854, 72
21 February 1676	War rewards	Mass Bay		Due to the actions and fear caused by “many sculking Indians” the English are encouraged to seize, kill and take prisioner of any Indian “on south side of Piscataqua River, he or they shallbe allowed three pounds p head, or the prisoners so taken, making it appeare to the committee of milia of that towne to wch they are brough” (p. 72)		Shurtleff 1854, 73
21 February 1676	Native spies	Deer Island[?] to Roxbury	John Curtice of Roxbury	“This Court order Jn Curtise, of Roxbury to be a guide to the forces now going forth, & he is impowered to take sixe Indians from the island for (p. 74) his assistance, wth their arms, some of wch Indians may be improved		Shurtleff 1854, 74-75

				for spies as the commander in cheife shall appoint” (p. 75)		
15 February 1676	Great Riot of Hadley	Hadley, MA	Young men of Hadley, leader Edward Grannis	Riot	Edward Grannis was whipped 12 times, Jonathan Gilbert Jr. and Joseph Selding on bond for 10 pounds for good behavior, Thomas Dickinson was fined 3 pounds, Nehemiah Dickenson, William Booker, Thomas Croft, and Jonathn March were fined 5 pounds. Samuel Bernard whipped 12 times.	Judd 1863, 98
25 February 1676	Captivity mortality Torture	Hatfield, MA	Thomas Warner	Thomas Warner had been taken October 19, 1675 when Hatfield was raided by 7-800 Indians, Hatfield at that time was under the command of Captain Moseley and Poole. He travel to Albany, and arrived back home February 25, 1676, upon which he was examined for details (p. 143)	Intelligence gathered: Hatfield raided shot down five officers, and took three captive (one killed outright and one was a Indyan that escaped); they lay still for two days, and then marched along with additional 30 north east toward Oasuck. The next night the rest of the Native army gathered and burnt two more towns taken one captive “cutting a Hole below his breast out of which they pull’d his Gutts, and then 154ot off his Head. That they putt him so to Death in the Presence of him and his Comrade, and threatened them alfo with the like. That they burnt his Nayles, and put his Feet to scald them agst the Fire to pin him to the Ground. The Stake about the Bignesse of his Finger” (p. 144). They progressed toward Oasmuk (p. 145) and about five weeks in, Warner witnessed the gathering of 2100 Native warriors, with 5-600 being French Indians with “Strawes in their Noses” (p. 145). Most of these warriors were young men no older than the age of 40, supplied with powder by the French Indians (p. 145).	“The Examinati on of Tho. Warner, that had been a Prisoner with the Indians.” Hough 1858, 143-145
4 March 1676	Soldier Disease provisions/tainted	Hadley, MA	Capt. Wm Turner	Capt William Turner who came from Marlborough Feb. 29 th with 89 foot soldiers however he left 11 of these men at Quabaug; arrives March 4 at		Judd 1905, 155

				Hadley (p. 155)....Provisions from Marlborough were sent on horse to Brookfield (p. 155)		
8 March 1676	Soldier Meeting	Hadley, MA	Major Savage	Major Savage and 4 companies arrive to Hadley, after Wm Turner (p. 155)		Judd 1905, 155
14 March 1676	Weather correlation Northampton attacked Turners Falls WIA KIA	Hadley, MA	John Russell	2000 Natives attack Northampton (violence increases with Spring conditions); burnt five homes, 5 barns (one fortified), 5 killed, 5 wounded; 12 Natives killed (p. 156)	Intelligence immerses “Above Deerfield a few miles is the great place of their fishing which must be expected to afford them their provisions for the year. We must look to feel their utmost rage. My desire is, we may be willing to do or suffer, to live or die, remain in or be driven out from our inhabitations, as the Lord out God would have us” (p. 156)	Judd 1905, 156
26 March 1676	Mortality KIA Native warrior statistics	Woodcock’s House, 27 miles from Dedham, near Pawtucket River	Capt. Peirce	“Capt. Pierce, with his company, were cut off by the enemy, within eight miles of Woodcock’s, only three men escaping to Woodcock’s house, and some Indians; the report is, the enemy was about a thousand” (p. 89)	Capt. Pierce of Situate had a company of 50 English and 20 Natives from Cape Cod. In this skirmish most died (Native and English), by did kill 140 of the enemy later reported by a captives	Gov. Leverett to Gov. Winslow, “Cudworth Letters” 1846, 89
Night of 26 March 1676	Burnt infrastructure	Simsbury, CT		Buildings at Simsbury burned (p. 156)		Judd 1905, 156
26 March 1676	Captives Mortality wounded	Longmeadow – Springfield area	John Keep, wife Sarah and some Jabez	People of Longmeadow (16-18 men with women and children) attached by 7-8 Native in bushes on way to worship, colony troopers in company, resulting in the death or severe wounds of six (p. 157). Two women and two children captive (p. 157).		Judd 1905, 157
28 March 1676	Captives Mortality rate WIA Native trade with French & Dutch	Springfield, MA	Thomas Savage, James Taylor, Nashuway Captives, Major Pinchon, Dutchman	James Taylor whom was taken captive by Natives, has not been rescued; on the 26 th of March Springfield Indians, or eight Indians assault 16 or 18 men, women and children on their way to a meeting place called Long Meadow – the Indians kill a man, a maid and wound two men and carried captive 2 women and children. Major Pinchon	“one of the weomen remains still senceles by reason of her wounds, the other is very sencible and rational, and both say that the Indians were very free in their speech to them that night they were with them.” The intelligence gathered was that there are 300 Indians at Deerfield, and that they were acquiring powder from the Dutch brought in by horses, having two Dutch	Doc. 189, 28 March 1676, Vol. 68, Military, MSL

			Jerrards, Dutchman Jacobs	sends out a horse of 16 to recover them, the Indians seeing them kill the two children and wound the women in the heads with their hatchets and run into the swamp.	men in their company (Jacobs and Jerrards) whom dwell at Fort Albany, and the French urge them not to burn dwellings/wigwams about Deerfield for they have plans to settle – but to “slaughter they can of people.”	
1 April 1676	Captives Turners Falls connection	Hockanum	Thomas Reed (age 19 later soldier Turner’s Falls)	Hadley workers with some soldiers venture to Hockanum to do some work, and kill Richard Goodman, two soldiers and take Thomas Reed captive (p. 157)		Judd 1905, 157
1 April 1676	Captives mortality Turners Falls connection	Hockanum	Thomas Reed	Account from Mary Rowlandson “About this time they came yelping from Hadley having killed three Englishmen, and brought one captive with them, viz. Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him many questions. I desired also to go and see him; and when I came he was crying bitterly, supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them whether they intended to kill him, he answered me, they would not : He being a little cheered with that” (p. 40)		Rowlands on 1828, 40
Ca. 1 April 1676	Captives sickness	Wachuset vicinity	John Gilbert of Springfield Mary Rowlandson	“I went to see and English youth in this place, one John Gilbert, of Springfield. I found him lying without doors upon the ground ; I asked him how he did ; he told me he was very sick of a flux with eating so much blood. They had turned him out of the wigwam with him an Indian Papoos, almost dead, (whose parents had been killed) in a bitter cold day, without fire or cloaths : The young man himself had nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat” and Mary made him a fire (p. 42)		Rowlands on 1828, 42

6 April 1676	Mortality Rate Response to 1 April 1676 incident sickness	Hadley, Deerfield, MA	William Leete, the Major	On April 6, 1676 in response to the 1 April incident, the CT War Council writes; CT learns of Mass Bay's eagerness to march against the enemy, however their Major is sick and unable for service. CT cannot send men till the 7 th of April, and that they are also sorry for the three men that were killed at Hadley and are glad in response that scouts were sent toward Deerfield to disvoer wigwams with fires not far off. Mr. Nowell has been sent 20 miles toward Lancaster having received news of 1000 warriors about that way but "we were yet in Capacity to supply our helpfulness then, By reason of the Majors illness and hat off exchange of our soldiers &c: so that their expedition (as it is supposed) is over for yt expedition from us now" (doc. 60)		Letter from, Dep. Gov. Leete to Assistants in Mass Bay April 6, 1676, Hartford, Doc. 60, 1 Colonial War, Connecticut State Library
25 April	Sickness provisions Captivity Turner's Falls connection	Deerfield Hadley, MA	Capt. Wm Turner	Captain Turner writes "the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some have been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want...I should be glad if some better person might be found for this employment, for my weakness of body and often infirmities will hardly suffer me to do my duty as I ought" (p. 160) "There is come into Hadley a young man (John Gilbert, solder captive, recorded by Mary Rowlandson at Northfield as sick and cold) taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their head-quarters are at Deerfield" (p. 161)	Wife Mary Turner, writes a letter – mentions William Turner Jr., soldier at Hadley (petition April 27, MSL Recs)	Judd 1905, 160-161

27 April 1676	Mortality	Springfield, MA	Capt. Samuel Holyoke	Capt. Holyoke and some men from Springfield shot at 4 Natives, two died in river, and “one was taken, who died of his wounds. He said the Indians had 1000 fighting-men up the river, and three forts this side of Squakeag” (p. 161)		Judd 1905, 161
29 April 1676	Prep. For Turners Falls	Hadley, MA	Wm Turner, and others from Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield signed	“They are daily moving for it, and would saine have liberty to be going forth this night. The enemy is now come so near us that we ought we might go forth in the evening and come upon them in the darkness of the same night” (p. 161)		Judd 1905, 161
3 May 1676	Soldier conscription Fines	Mass Bay		Mass Bay Court states the colony is suffering because men are no showing up for military service, so the court imposes a fine “ffoote souldiers to pay 4lbs & troopers 6lb” (p. 78)		Shurtleff 1854, 79
3 May 1676	Wounded soldier petition	Mass Bay	John Braudon	“Peticon of John Braudon, a wounded soulder, for relief, there being many in the nature that stand in like need” (p. 80)	“Mr. Edard Ting, Mr. Joseph Dudley, Capt Hugh Mason, & Mr Wm Parkes to be standing committee to consider of peticons of this nature, and make their report of what they judge meet to be donn to this Court and to continue till the Court take further order” (p. 80).	Shurtleff 1854, 80
3-5 May 1676	Native Spy	Mass Bay	Indian Tom Dublett with Mr. Seth Perry	“Instructions for Mr Seth Perry, our messenger to the sachems at Wachusets Yow shall, in the company of Tom Dublett, the Indian guide, repaire to Concord on Saturday, &, on Monday following, by his guidance, goe up to the Indians quarters, and there deliver the letter to the said sachems, desiring their speedy answer” (p. 82)	An answer in regards to English captives. Dated May 5, 1676 Mr. John Hoare went up with the Indian messengers Tom and Peter being sent by Mr. Rowlandson	Shurtleff 1854, 82
5 May 1676	Provisions poor living conditions	Mass Bay, islands		“This Court, considering the psent distressed condition of the Indians at the island, they being ready to perish		Shurtleff 1854, 84

				for want of bread, & incapacitated to make provision for the future, doe orderm that there be a man with a boate provided, who, with some of the Indains, shall be employed in catching of fish or theire supply, and that if any of the Englsih towns doe move for some of the them to imply in scouting, laboring, or otherwise, with some of their owne men, they shallbe accommodated in that respect, the which improovment of them may tend much to their supply, & much more to our security, and that the rst may be improved in planting the island or islands where they now are” (p. 84)		
5 May 1676	Provisions	Quabaug, MA	Lieut. Clarke, Capt. Wm Turner	Lieut. Wm Clarke given charge to see too it that the towns “upon the river” secure needed provisions to them, and Catpain Turner is to “appoint a sufficient guard for the provisions above said to Quoboag” (p. 84)	“The garrison of Quopaug being out of provisions, and the supply ordered from Hadley not being likely to be with them for their present reliefe, it is ordered, that forthwith with provisions for one weeke be speedied up to them” (p. 84)	Shurtleff 1854, 84
5 May 1676	Displacement provisions	MA & RI Colonies	Council of RI, Mr. Joseph Carpenter	“News being brought from Roade Island by Mr. Joseph Carpenter, of the great Number of people flockt thither from their Habitations destroyed by the Indyans, insomuch that the Inhabitants are very much straitened by their numbers and will quickly want provisions” (p. 160).		Hough 1848, 160
5 May 1676	Native-English muster	Mass Bay	Major Gookin and Cpat Samuel Hunting	Gookin and Hunting “to provide & provide a seventry able Indians, fit & reay, by the 30 th instant , to march out with the forces on the countrys service” (p. 85)		Shurtleff 1854, 85
5 May 1676	Dislocation	Long Island		The Indians at Long Island to be removed to “convenient places for their planting, i.e. Ponkapaug Indians at Brush Hill, or as neere as they may		Shurtleff 1854, 86

				with safety to their owne planting fields, and that they palce their wigwams in or neere some English garrison there;- Nashobah Indians & a part of Natick Indians to Patucket; and the remainder of Natick Indians to their owne plantations, or such lands of the English as may be procured for them” (p. 86)		
5 May 1676	Order servitude	Mass Bay		“That the Indians lodge constantly in the English garrisons, as they shall be appointed by those that are or shall, from time to time, be their overseers, on pain of deah” (p. 86)	These natives are mostly women and children, but the men should be used for service (p. 86)	Shurtleff 1854, 86
5 May 1676	Disease Provisions	Marlboroug h, Quabaug	Capt. Henchman	“The Court, considering the want of provisions for their garrisons of Marlborow & Quoboag, who are in distresse, together wth the wants & sicknes in the army, doe order, that all the sicke or nesessitous persons in the army be licensed to repaire to their own homes for ten days, and that forty or fifty of the ablest be reteyned & quartered in Sudbury & Concord, & be imployed to guard Quoboag, Marlborow, & other magazines, which are with all expedition, and every regiment enjoyed to make up the full number of soldiers now to be licensed be enjoyed to appeare at Concord with the recruits on Wednesday, the last of May, at their utmost perrill; what remains of force bdesides convoys, Capt Hinchman is ordered to improve them for the security of the frontiers, until the prefixed time of recrute” (p. 93)		Shurtleff 1854, 93
6 May 1676	Disease	Village of Agnié, New France	Father Jacques de Lamerville	Death of two adults, “slow fever” (p. 179)		Thwaites 1900, 179

11 May 1676	Wounded	Rhode Island and Lyme	Mrs. Abigail Lay, Captain Cranston, John Lay	Mr Abigail Lay petitions for her wounded son John Lay to be released from Rhode Island and allowed to return home, and “order that the Treasuerer send to Captain Cranston the thanks of this Court for his care and paynes about or wounded men, and desire him to release the sayd Lay’s son that he may com home” (p. 276)	John Lay was wounded at the Swamp Fight	Trumbull 1852, 276
11 May 1676	Healer wounded soldiers	Connecticut Colony	Mr. Bulckly	“This Court informed that sundry wounded men are come to Mr. Bulckly, this Court desired Mr. Bulckly to take the care and trouble of dressing the sd wounded soldiers till God bless his endeavoures with a cure; and Mr. Stone is desired and ordered to assist Mr. Bulkley in the worke of the ministry so long as Mr. Bulkly shall be imporved as before” (p. 277)		Trumbull 1852, 277
11 May 1676	Provisions	Connecticut Colony to Mass Bay		“Court considering the many complaynts and urgencies from sundry persons, of the want of corn in the neighbor Colonys, and their importuneties for liberty to export corn out of the Colony of Connecticut, as they have lately permitted the Council to grant lycenses” (p. 277)		Trumbull 1852, 277
11 May 1676	Execution provisions	Connecticut Colony	Nanantinoe	“This Court order that four coates be payd out of the publique Treasurie for two Indians that were taken by the Indians and put to death by order of the Councill of Warr, at that time when the volunteers took Nanantinoe” (p. 280)		Trumbull 1852, 280
11 May 1676	Medical treatment medical compensation	Connecticut Colony		“This Court orders that all wounded soldiers who have been wounded in the country service, shall have cure and dyet on the country accot, and		Trumbull 1852, 285

				halfe pay till they are cured” (p. 285)		
11 May 1676	Native surrenders	Connecticut Colony		“This Court doe grant that all such Indians as have been in hostility against the English, as shall at any time within in hostility against the English, as shall at any time within the space of thirty six days after the date hereof come and surrender themselves to the English for mercy, such persons as shall so come and surrender their arms and ammunition, viz. all such armes as they have used in this present war, submit themselves to the government of the English, as the Pequots &c., and shall dwell where they are appointed by the Councill” (p. 285)		Trumbull 1852, 285
11 May 1676	Wounded soldiers Medical compensation	Connecticut Colony		“Whereas there are many soldiers that doe complain of great damage that they have recived in the late wars by wounds and disabilitie thereby to attend their occasions, which will prove too long and too many for the Court to heare and determine, this Court doe therefore appoint and empower the Councill to hear and determine all such cases as shall be brought before them, and to alow some equitable reparation as they shall judg meet, and order to the contrary notwithstanding” (p. 288)		Trumbull 1852, 288
11 May 1676	Hunting Hunting the enemy	Connecticut Colony		“This Court upon petition granted the Pequots and or Narrogancett Indian friends liberty to hunt in the conquered lands in Narrogancett Country, provided they sett not traps to prejudice English cattell, and that they doe their best to attacque and destroy the enemie, and continually upon all such occasions they make		Trumbull 1852, 289

				reporte thereof ot the next Authority of the English in this Colony” (p. 289)		
11 May 1676	Land use Native relations	Connecticut Colony		Sunk Squa, the daughter of Ninicraft and her men are given permission (in accord to Hermon Garrad) to palnts and live at Moshowungganunck, if remain friendly to the English and open offer not to any “stange Indians”....also that Nawwahquannoë and “one or two more granted liberty to live upon the Shannuck lands and to palnt” as long as they are to “prosecute enemeies” (p. 289)		Trumbull 1852, 289
11 May 1676	Indian servants sickness			“This Court granted to Robin Cassacinamon six of the (p. 289) Incomers or Captives, to keep them as servants, provided he take such as are not already engaged or disposed by the English. Nenaquabin and old squa with him and his wife’s uncle Grasheacow and his wife and a pawpoose of Grasheacow, and an Indian that is sick, Sasabenewott, as those desired by Robin, and allowed to him by the Cort” (p. 290)		Trumbull 1852, 290
11 May 1676	Muster	Connecticut Colony	Connecticut Colony forces	“This Court doth impower Major John Talcott to rayse such volunteer forces as shall be necessary and willing to prosecute, seize and captivate, kill and destroy all such Indians as are in hostility against the English, and all such who have already surrendered and are runn away from the English” (p. 293)		Trumbull 1852, 293
11 May 1676	Terms of Surrender for the Natives forced assimilation	Connecticut Colony		For those Indians that surrender; those that are not murdres will not be sold out of colont for slaves; that they may serve with English and after ten years (p. 297) (“grown person considered aged 16”), if good work, shall have the		Trumbull 1852, 297-298

				freedom to live and work for themselves in English manner...and if the English for whom under they worked under does not provide certificate the Native may petition” (p. 298) “All that are under sixteen years of age are to serve until they be twentry six years of age” (p. 298)		
12 May 1676	Foodways herb-plant use			“The next day a youth of about 11 years of Age, made his escape from the Indians, who was taken prisoner when his father’s house was burnt, and his mother murdered on the first of February last; and the boy knew not a step of the way to any English Town, and was in continual danger of the skulking Indians in the woods, and far from the English, yet God directed him aright and brought him to the sight of Plantane, (the Herb which the Indians call English-foot, because it grows only amongst us, and is not found in the Indian Plantations) whereupon he concluded he was not far from some English Town, and accordingly following of the Plantane he arrived safe amongst us” (p. 3).		Anonymo us 1676, 3
15 May 1676	Disease	Hadley	John Russel	“The general visitation of sickness which you wrote of hath passed unto us also, most of our people being sorely exercised therewith” (p. 161)		Judd 1905, 161
15 May 1676	Hadley Security Disease			“We have yet no return from the Indians: and are not past expectation of anything farther from them when the Account of yet message The general vision by sickness wch you wrote of hath passed unto us alsoe most of our people sorely exercised” News that Thomas Reed has also been		Letter from John Russell and others at Hadley, Doc. 71a, 1 Colonial War, Connectic

				recovered and brings word that the Indians are planting at Deerfield, and that they will be present at the falls (on both sides of the river) and it is judged there is not more than 60-70 warriors present....letter also signed by Wm Turner		ut State Library
15 May 1676	Turners Falls intelligence	Hatfield, MA	Thomas Reed	Thomas Reed escapes and makes his way to Hatfield where he relates intelligence that the Natives “are now planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more-saith further that they dwell at the falls on both sides of the river-are a considerable number, yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are on both sides of the river above 60 or 70 fighting men (p. 162)		Judd 1905, 162
17 May 1676	Captivity	Turners Falls vicinity	Edward Stebbins and John Gilbert	“May 17, 1676, two boys named Edward Stebbins and John Gilbert returned to their friends, having escaped from Indian captivity. They reported that several hundred Indians were encamped at a place now (p. 144) called Turners Falls” (p. 145)		Indian History, Biography and Genealogy: Pertaining to the Good Sachem Massasoit of the Wampanoag Tribe, and His Descendants, by Ebenezer Weaver Peirce, 1878.

						North Abington, MA: Zerviah Gould Mitchell.
17-20 May 1676	War Turner's Fall's campaign begins Mortality	Turners Falls	Japhet Chapin	Scribed in Japhet's original account book "I went to Volenteare against ingens the 17 th of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19 th of May in the moaning before sunrise and made a great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the same day with the Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20 th of May" (p. 4)		The Chapin Genealogy by Orange Chapin, 1862. Northhampton, MA: Metcalf & Co.
18-19 May 1676	Turners Fall's men gathered	Hatfield, MA	150-160 mounted men, Capt. Turner, Samuel Holyoke, John Lyman of Northampton, Rev. Hope Atherton, Benjamin Wait, Experience Hinsdale, etc.	150-160 mounted men from the towns of Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield gather and begin march Tuesday evening, May 18, 20 miles....cross Deerfield and Green Ricers, halt a little west of Fall River, ½ mile from the Indian camp where the horses were left with small guard..."They then crossed Fall River, climbed up an abrupt hill, and came upon the back of the camp about day-break" (p. 163)		Judd 1905, 163
Night May 18, 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Montague, MA		"For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the night, May 18. and came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost		Hubbard 1677, 85-86

				<p>in a dead sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home, for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and rost beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them. When they came near the Indians rendezvoze, they alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter of a miles distance, so marching up they fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightening others with the sudden alarm of their Gunns, made them run into the River, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into Canooes...which proved to them a Charons boat, being sunk, or overset, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters....others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. Holioke killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger. Such as came back speak sparingly of the number of the slain, some say there could not in reason be</p>	
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				less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with much disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal men Sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were lost, which made the victory more considerable than else it would had been, nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves from this defeat, but their ruine immediately followed upon it” (pp. 85-86).	
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Montague, MA	Captain Turner	“Captain Turner, by Trade a Taylor...hearing of the Indians being about Twenty miles above them at Connecticut River, dew out a Party at Hadly and Northampton, where there was a Garrison; and marching all night, came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations; ours taking this advantage of their negligence, fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of any posture or order to make any formidable resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number; But that which was almost as much, nay in some respect more considerable then their lives, we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited	L’Estrange 1676, 12

				with, as possibly the may be with me: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River (p. 12)	
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight Mortality	Turners Falls		“They send to their neighbors in Connecticut for a supply of Men, but none coming, they raised about an hundred and fours score out of their own Towns, who arrived at the Indian Wigwams betimes in the morning, finding them secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns in to their Wigwams, before the Indians were aware of them, and made a great and notable slaughter amongst them. Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were carried down the Falls....And all this while but one English-man killed, and two wounded...there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this Expedition. For an English Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if Philip were coming with a thousand Indians: which false report being famed among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout... a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout. In the	Mather 1676, 48-50

				mean while, a party of Indians from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from Hadly were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonor of the English, a few Indians pursued our Souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy. In this Disorder, he that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was Turner, lost his life, he was pursued through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed through that which is called the Green River, & as he came out of the Water he fell into the hands of the Uncircumcised, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm) and rode away upon his horse; and between thirty and forty more were lost in this Retreat (pp. 48-50).		
18-19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight	Turners Falls	Jonathan Wells	“...Jonathan Wells Esq then aged 16 years and 2 or 3 months who was in this action [at the Falls fight, May 19]. He was wth the 20 men yt were obliged to fight wth the enemy to recover their horses; after he mounted his horse a little while (being then in the rear of ye company), he was fired at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse behind a third struck his thigh in a place which before had been broken by a cart wheel & never set, but the bones lapd & so grew together so yt altho one end of it had been struck and the bone shattered by ye bullet, yet the		Well's Account, <i>History of Hatfield</i> , 463-465

				<p>bone was not wholly lossd in ye place where it had knit. Upon receiving his wound he was in danger of falling from his horse, but catching hold of ye horse's maine he recovered himself...The Indians perceiving they had wound'd him, ran up very near to him, but kept ye Inds back by presenting his gun to ym once or twice, & when they stoped to charge he got rid of them & got up to some of ye company....capt. Turner, to whom he represented ye difficulties of ye men in ye rear & urged yt he either turn back to yr relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body; but ye Capt. replid he had better save some than lose all,' and quickly ye army were divided into several parties, one pilot crying out, 'if you love your lives follow me'; another yt was acquainted wth ye woods cryed 'if you love your lives follow me.' Wells fell into the rear again and took wth a small company yt separated from others yt run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp & was most of ym killed...." (pp. 463-465) They the separated again & had about ten men left with him, and his horse failing considerably by reason of his wound, & himself spent wth bleeding, he was left with one John Jones, a wounded man likewise. He had now "...got about 2 miles from ye place where yy did ye exploit in, & now y had left ye track of ye company & were left both by ye Indians yt persued ym and by their own men that should have tarried with ym...J.W. had a gun & J. J. a</p>	
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				sword. J. J. represented ye badness of his wounds, & made his companion think they were certainly mortall, and therefore when yy separated in order to find the path, J.W. was glad to leave him., lest he shd be a clog or hindrance to him. Mr. W. grew faint, & once when ye Indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a nutmeg, (which his grandmother gave him as he was going out,) he was revivd. After traveling awhile, he came upon Green river, and followd it up to ye place calld ye Country farms, and passed over Green river, & attempted to go up ye mountain (pp. 463-465).		
Friday 19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight Mortality	Turner's Falls	Holyoke, etc.	Indians attacked while asleep, some wounded, shot in the waters, drowned "others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed by swords. Captain Holyoke killing five, young and old, with his own hands" (p. 163)....Indians coming down from "opposite sides of the bank and at Smeads's Island, below the falls" (p. 163)		Judd 1905, 163
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight Disease WIA	Turners Falls	John Belcher of Braintree and solder under Turner and Issac Harrison, Hadley	Martha Harrison, the widow of Isaac Harrison files a complaint against John Belcher on June 22, 1676. She states that Belcher caused her husband's death; Harrison was wounded, "fell faint", and fell from his horse which Belcher took and left Harrison....this was testified by Stephen Belden of Hatfield, testifying that "he was riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the ground rising up, and heard him call to		Judd 1905, 164

				the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before...this was when we were returning from the fight at the falls” (p. 164)		
19 May 1676	Turners Falls Fight captivity Mortality Disease	Turners Falls	Captive English lad, Holyoke, etc.	Holyoke enters wigwam warns soldiers Philip and 100 men are coming, the soldiers freak and break into “several parties” (p. 164)...Turner shot while crossing the Green River “and body found a short distance”...Capt. Holyoke retreats back to Hatfield, followed to south end of Deerfield Meadow”....(p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
19 May 1676	Genocide Slavery	Turner’s Falls		Turners Falls “Some Indian Women (since that taken prisoners) do say and affirm that there were slain in that engagement with them four hundred, of which number were seventy of the Wampangs, or Philip Sachems men : and that he had of his own proper Company not any great number less, and that were it not for him and one Sachem more, the Indians would gladly yield to any terms of Peace with the English” (p. 4) Account from Turner’s soldier Sergt. Bardwell count above two Natives killed (pp. 164-165)		Anonymo us 1676, 4; Judd 1905, 165
19 May 1676	Injury & later death	Great Falls, Montague, MA	Capt. Holyoke and John Munn	Died sometime after “of a surfeit got at the Falls Fight” (p. 600) Spread by droplets (sneeze, cough), inhalation, some patients heal and experience active TB years to decades following infection aka latent TB. Symptoms include. Symptoms include fatigue, weight loss, no appetite, chills, fever	Death	Everts 1879, 600, 765 <i>MSS for Munn is a General Court 1684 case</i>
19-20 May 1676	Torture	Great Falls, Montague, MA		The Harris letter has detail on the English that were captured and tortured “they tued thyr hands vp spreading vpon ye one & ye other		Leach 1963, 80

				vpon an other & like wise set two stakes distance to which they tyed theyr feet and then made a fyre vnder each of them gashing thyr thighs & legs with kniues & casting into ye gashes 174ot embers to torment them which Some what allsoe Stanches ye bloud yt they doe not Soe soone bleed to death but remayne aliue ye longer in torment” (p. 80)		
Saturday 20 May 1676	KIA Native prisoners	Narragansett Country	Capt. Daniel Dennison of Connecticut	Captain Daniel Denison in Narragansett Country about one week prior lost not one man against the enemy, killed 11 of the enemy and took 6 prisoners Japhet Chapin returns “home” from the Falls Fight		Doc. 6, 20 May 1676, Vol. 69, Military, MSL; Indian History, Biography and Genealog y: Pertaining to the Good Sachem Massasoit of the Wampano ag Tribe, and His Descenda nts, by Ebenezer Weaver Peirce, 1878. North Abington, MA:

						Zerviah Gould Mitchell.
20 May 1676	KIA Provisions Sickness	Sudbury, Marlboro, Watchusets	Letter and intelligence from John Allyn	600 Natives attack Sudbury and Marlborough “severall times,” burning infrastructure and killing people. CT draws up their troops for intended visit to Watchusets, but due to “weakness & wants, could not attayne that end, new forces were raysed, upwards of three hundred men, horse and foote, with forty Indians, committed to the conduct of Capt Daniel Hinchman & severall captains under his command...discovered the enemy by our Indian scouts as fleeting up & down, and by a party of (p. 96) horse, under the command of Capt. Thomas Brattle, on the 5 th instant, between Mendon & Hassanemesit, the Indians discovered the enemy, fell on them, the horse pursing them, killed atwenty, of which were fower squawes, took severall armes & plunder that they found in pursuit. The season was wett; the enemy quickly got into the swamps...none of the troopers or scouts wounded” (p. 97)...On the 24 Capt. Brattle and dragoons persued Indian to the “falls of Patcatucke River, being on Seaconke side,” killed “severall fo them,” took arms, kettles, ammunition, two horses, coats, shoes and burnt their store of fish. Cornet Elljot wounded in hand, one KIA, one killed and carried to Seaconck and buried, one Indian boy captive and gave intelligence of 3-400 hundred at Nepsuchnit” (p. 97)		Shurtleff 1854, 96- 97

				<p>“The season sickly; our forces disabled at present; but we have impressed, & hope by the first of June, at farthest, to be out with 500 hundred, horse, & foote & Indians on the visiting of the ennemyes head quarters at Watchusets, taking it in their march to Hadley, to joyne with ye forces & Indians, wch we hope and desire may be proportionable to persue & distress the enemy” (p. 97).</p> <p>MA Bay Indian scouts of no use, they “dally, & intent not peace, therefore concur with yow in a vigorous prosecution of them” (p. 97)</p>		
20 May 1676	20 May 1676	Turners Falls	Connecticut Colony forces to assist	In response to the falls fight, 80 men are sent under Captain Benjamin Newbury to Northampton for the upcoming Monday (32 from Windsor, 20 Wethersfield, 12 Hartford, 11 Middletown, 5 Farmington) (p. 442)	Capt. Newbury and his men on his way to Northampton, intelligence of 300 of Quabaug, and Mass Bay requests another 50-60 of Talcott’s ment to attack (p. 443)	Trumbull 1852, 442-443
Sunday 21 May 1676	Retreat from Fall’s Fight WIA	Hatfield	Jonathan Wells	Jonathan Wells wounded finds his way back to Hatfield, MA (p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
Monday 22 May 1676	Retreat from Fall’s Fight Hunger	Hatfield, MA	Rev. Hope Atherton	<p>Atherton finds his way back to Hatfield, “after the space of three days and part of another into Hadley, on the east side of the river, about noon on Monday” (pp. 164-165)</p> <p>Atherton’s arrival confirmed (Doc.74, 1 Colonial War, CSL)</p>		Judd 1905, 164-165
22 May 1676	Falls Fight	The falls, Hadley	John Russell, William Draw, Mr. Atherton	Particulars related from Russell; “Some men were wandering in the west mountains on Saturday,” soldiers guess that number of the enemy to be about “four score yt lay upon the ground,” Sergeant Bardill and William		Letter from John Russell and others at Hadley, Doc. 74, 1

				Drew account for the number of the enemy and testify that they had seen many of the enemy jump from the falls to their death. These men also testify that there Natives on both sides of the river and the islands and that they have a fort close to the Deerfield River and that their fish “is there not yett fit to carry away”		Colonial War, Connecticut State Library
Monday 22-24 May 1676	Zoonotic	Northampton, MA	Capt. Newbury, John Maudsley Samuel Cross	Capt. Newbury with 80 men, John Maudsley and Samuel Cross to go up the river with dogs” to track the Indians (p. 167)		Judd 1905, 167 Trumbull 1852, 442-443
24 May 1676 Forces assemble the 27 th of May	Talcott’s orders into Pocumtuck	Pocumtuck, Mass Bay	Major John Talcott. Rev. Mr. Bulkley as army minister, George Denison 2 nd in command	Talcotts’ commission provides instructions that he must first report to Norwich to meet his troops and to persude English officers and Indians to join your march into Pocomptock up through Windsor “avaoiding Hartford and Wethersfeild”....order Mr. Danll Withrell & Mr. Dowglas to provide adequate provisions (p. 444)		Trumbull 1852, 444
29 May 1676	Headquarters movement	Watchoosuck, Pocumtuck	Rev. James Fitch	“Major Tallcott hath desired mee to informe you concerning the enemie what intelligence wee have. The sune of which is, that by Indeans from Wabaquassog & others of Pequot, it’s the general reporte of all that the cheife palce of theire wimen & children is at Watchoosuck, not farr of from Quabaug; that they have planted at Quabaug & at Nipsachook, nigh Cowessit; that Philip’s men & the Narragansetts are generally come into those abovementioned palces, onelye Pesicus, one of the cheife of the Narragansett sachems, did abide up at Pocomptuck with some few of his		Trumbull 1852, 417

				men” (p. 417)		
29 May 1676	Pursue the enemy	Watchosuck or Watchusetts	Mass Bay \ CT intelligence and troops	Major Talcott relays information that he received word from Massachusetts Bay to send 500 men with horse and some Indians to Watchosuck, “taking in their march to Hadley” (p. 449)		Trumbull 1852, 449
29 May 1676	Disarmed transportation Native protection	Long Island		“Whereas, being in Peace we have upon Acct of our Neighbours Warre, disarmed all our Indjans upon Long Island, and prohibited all Canoes from going in the Sound, neither of which our Neighbors have done yet” (p. 165). Also, that “all North Indjans that will come in, may be protected, and Stop to be put to the Maques further prosecuting sd North Indians” (p. 166)		Hough 1858, 165-166
30 May 1676	Attack on Hadley Hadley’s request for medical supplies recorded May 30, 1676	Hadley, MA		Five English men killed in this attack (double check, NA data on injured men)	Hadley request for medical supplies (list in Latin) some items include basil, licorice, chamomile flowers, aloe pumice, anise, and other solutions, some used for treating burns such as liniment arcei	Butler’s binder Medicine, Beliefs, Education C NB#39, pg. 53
30 May 1676	Attack on Hatfield	Hatfield, MA		Hatfield attacked when men working in the fields....reported 250 Native warriors (p. 167). John Allyn reports twelve houses and barns fired on with no fortification, killed most of their cattle, drove all sheep away....25 from Hadley leave to help people at Hatfield and of these men five killed and three wounded (pp. 167-168)		Judd 1905, 167-168
30 May 1676	Attack on Hatfield	Hatfield, MA	Letter of Benjamin Newbury	Captain Benjamin Newbury, then stationed at Northampton, gives details into the Hatfeild attack resulting in the un-fortified houses burnt, men from Hadley came to relieve and 5 killed, three wounded,	Major John Talcott wrote May 31, 1676 from Norwich that he is held up due to lack of supplies (p. 450)	Trumbull 1852, 450

				“two of our men kild, Jobama Smith & Richard Hall; John Stoe wounded in the foot, and Rodger Alvis is also woundd in ye foot;” about a 150 Indians had attacked and all those thought to be up toward to meadow either thought to dead or taken captive, “many cattle and horses taken away” (p. 450)		
June 1676	Torture Turners Falls	Turners Falls		“In June, scouts found places where they supposed the Indians tortured and brunt and captured some men” (p. 164)		Judd 1905, 164
8 June 1676	Troop location Provisions	Northampton, MA	Major Talcott	Major Talcott’s march from Norwich to Wabaquasut yields no enemy; from there Chanagongum to Nipmuck country by the 5 th of June where “killed and captured 52 of the enemy” (p. 453). Reached Quabaug June 7 th at noon took 27 women and children that were then sent to Norwich as POW. Made it to Hadley the 8 th , Mass Bay forces still no show, and waiting and urdes the “cause of any bread to me made for this wilderness worke, it had need to be well dried; great part of or bread is fill of blue mould, and yet to kept dry from wer; a barrel of powder and 300 weight of bulletts were needed by the army, and the Council are asked to send up those sent down will all possible speede” (p. 453)	Troops in hast, provisions not secured from Norwich	Trumbull 1852, 453
8 June 1676	Provisions Medical supplies Health status	Hadley, MA	Major Talcott	Major Talcott and troops arrive at Hadley and cross river to Northampton – Talcott’s troops from Norwich had taken with them 400 pounds of breakd, 1300 pounds of pork, 26 gallons of liquor, etc. (pp. 168-169)	Troops at Hadley from June 8-14, apparently CT troops (250 English, commanded by Capt. Sellick, Mansfield, Dennison, Newbury) make a spectacle with food, red ribbons, and allied Indians of Pequots, Mohegans, Niantics and Fairfield - total of 200 “friendly Indians” (p. 169). Also, Rev. James Fitch,	Judd 1905 168-170

					Gershom Bulkely Wethersfield surgeon with them and the troops reported of being in good health (p. 170)	
9 June 1676	Provisions Hunger March	CT Colony		War Council meets to secure provisions to Talcott (p. 453)		Trumbull 1852, 453
12 June 1676	Hadley Attack	Hadley, MA		12 Indians pursue and kill two English, mortally wound the third, “assault north end of town” (pp. 170-171)	English along recovered three dead Indians and possibly taken captives (p. 171). Estimated 30 Natives killed (p. 171)	Judd 1905, 170-17
14 June 1676	Safe passage of Indian	RI Colony	Awassuncke , Indian squaw and Squattuck	“Indian, called Squattuck, sent to this Island by Awassuncke, a Sachem squaw of Seconnett, with a messafe from her to the Governor and Councill...doe ordered that the said Squattuck shall be safely conveyed to the water side where he landed, and soe into his canoe to pass over to the Sachem squaw” (p. 545)	If passage prevented, then “they will have to answer it” (p. 545)	Bartlett 1857, 545
Friday 16 June 1676	Weather Provisions	Hadley, MA		Severe rain and thunder storms ruin supplies; arms, ammunition, provisions (p. 171)		Judd 1905, 171
18 June 1676	Body of Wm Turner, Turners Falls	Falls “above Deerfield”	Wm Turner	Scouts find the body of Captain Turner on the “west side above Deerfield,...and conjectured that they found the olaces where some of the English had been tortured to death by burning” (p. 171)		Judd 1905, 171
18 June 1676	War Captivity	Onnontagué, Iroquois Country	Father John Lamberville	Iroquois range the woods and kill men, and they brought home 50 captives from “200 leagues from here” to have them work their fields, some “Loups” prisoners who they were warring with at some point (p. 185) and some of those prisoners were “cruelly burned” (p. 187).	Some of those that were burned and survived sought refuge with the Jesuits (p. 187)	Thwaites 1900, 185-187
22 June 1676	CT pursues enemy forces	Norwottucke , Falls above Pacomptock, Sucquackhe ag,	Major Talcott	Major Talcott reports that he returned from Norwottucke, and reached the “Falls above Pacomptock, and scouts being sent up the River on both sides and on the east side as high as		Trumbull 1852, 455

		Watchosuck, Nipmuc Country		Sucquackheag ; and not discovering the enimie to be in those parts, but rather they were retired back towards Watchosuck or into the Nipmug country; and that they were under no engagement of farther conjunction wth the Massachussets forces, and the Indians being unwilling to goe forth agayne, before they have visited their in habitations; The premises considered, the Council doe see cause to order that Major Talcott with his forces, in pursueance of his commission, as soone as they can be recruited, doe forthwith march out against the enimie, so that they may reach Wabawquassuck upon Wednesdau next, (the Indians not being bale to be ready sooner;) and from thence that they proceed to attack and destroy the enimie as God shall deliver them into their hands” (p. 455)		
28 June 1676	Burnt infrastructure provisions Displacement	Falls, Turners Falls		“On the 28 th of June, about 30 men went up toward the falls, and espied no Indians. They burnt a hundred wigwams upon an island, ruined an Indian Fort, spoiled an abundance of fish which they found in Indians barns under the ground, and destroyed 30 canoes. Some of the Indians had done eastward, and others might have gone up the river to their Coasset. They were distressed and scattered” (p. 171).		Judd 1905, 171
30 June 1676	Indian removal displacement	RI Colony	Capt. Roger Williams	Indians shall be sent back to Providence, being formerly of Plymouth, “because it is said they were left as hostages to the English forces of the United Collonies” (p.		Bartlett 1857, 548

				548). Potuck kept and secured by the Colony until further order and Indians that came to Island Qunonoquitt to be kept and submit to government (p. 548)		
Late June 1676	Mortality	Hadley, MA vicinity	Capt. HENCHMAN	Captain HENCHMAN leaves Hadley and kills 84 Indians returning to the area (p. 172)		Judd 1905, 172
3 July 1676	Piscataqua Treaty Treatment of the Eastern Indians	Piscataqua River/Cochecho	The Committee, Richard Waldren, Thomas Daniell, Wannalanset sagamer, Sampson Moquacemo ka, Wm Sagamore, Squando Sagamore, Dony, solegumba, Samll Namphow, Warockome	To secure peace in th Eastern parts with the consent of Indian sagamores and another 300 Indian men that the Indians agree that no violence will be committed against the English, no Indian shall “enterain” enemy Indians and if any Indian should do such then they are liable to bring them to English justice		Vol. 30: 206, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
11 July 1676	Agricultural-harvest Fear	Hadley, MA	John Russell & John Allyn	John Russell requests the help of CT to send a guard to them to help them guard as they reap the harvest in their otter fields. Allyn refuses saying CT harvest needs tending to (p. 172).	Hadley adopts Harvest Rules; for Hockanum or Fort Meadow to gather garrison soldiers must be sent under the order of Lieut. Smith – no less than 40 peoples at any one time, and a schedule was set (p. 172)	Judd 1905, 172
Ca. 19 July 1676	Famine Disease Indian displacement provisions	Hadley vicinity Westfield		“Flight of Indians to Hudson’s River,” Indians reporting famine, disease and some turning themselves in. July 19 th , a small party takes some horses and cattle with little corn (p. 172)		Judd 1905, 172
19 July	CT Order for	New	Pequot		½ yard trading cloth for stockings	Butler,

1676	supplies for army	London	Indian			trans. New London Records of Expenditu res for King Philip's War 1675/6
6 August 1676	Indian servitude	RI Colony	Indian men and women	Indian men and women "able for service" are required to serve the town for nine years" (p. 549)		Bartlett 1857, 549
6 August 1676	Indian servitude Indian trade	RI Colony		Any one that brings in a Indian or Indians outside of the colony without prior approval from the governor or assistants will be fined five pounds, and RI Colony Indians taken out the colony without permit will also be fined five pounds (p. 550).		Bartlett 1857, 550
12 August 1676	Mortality	Mount Hope	King Philip	King Philip killed by one of his own tribe (p. 174).		Judd 1905, 174
12-15 August 1676	Native displacement Disease Provisions Turners Falls	Hadley, MA, Turners Falls, Albany, NY	John Pynchon, Major Talcott, Andros	Indians removing into New York, towards Albany and "harbored" by Andros. On August 12, 200 Natives discovered 3-4 miles of Westfield – they were shot at and a horse was taken from them. Major Talcott's army came in (who has, they say, cut down all the Indian corn about Quabaug, &c.) They pursued them on Sabbath about noon, a day after the Indians were gone, and provisions not being ready at Westfield, they hastened somewhat short of provisions, and I doubt they will overtake them till they come to Aussotinnoag...news comes that Major Talcott's army are most of them	Relations strained with CT, MA and NY for harboring "enemies" (p. 173)	Judd 1905, 173

				returned; only himself and 60 men and as many Indians have gone on. Finding his want of victuals, Maj. Talcott sent back most of his men, taking all their victuals, and discharging himself of his horses. An old Indian, whom he took, told him the Indians intended to rest at Oussotinoag (Housatonnuc), and that they gad between 50 and 60 fighting-men, 100 women, besides children. He hopes to get up with them and do some execution, which the Lord in mercy grant. We find our scouts that this parcel of Indians went over the great river on rafts at the foot of the great falls, between us and Hadley, and their track comes from Nipmuck country. The scouts found where they lay, within seven miles of our town, having about 25 fires” (p. 173)		
13 August 1676	Mortality Captives	Falmouth or Casco Bay	Brian Pendleton	On the 11 th of August 1676 Caso tradegy, 32 killed and some English taken captive, Mr. Burras [Burroughs] escaped “to an island” (p. 356)		Boutin 1867, 356
Tuesday Morning 15 August 1675	Mortality inflicted on the Hunger March	“in or near” Sheffield	Major Talcott	Talcott takes on Indians at he Housatonnuc killing and taking 45 (25 warriors). Talcott’s loss is one Mohegan (p. 173)		Judd 1905, 173
24 August 1676	Trails execution poor eye sight Turners Falls Fight Indian servitude	Newport, RI Pettacomscutt Nashaway	Quanopen, Indian with one eye, Sunkeecunas uck, Nenanantene ntt, Nechett, Ashamattan, John Wecopeak, John	“Trail of Indians charged with being engaged in Philip’s Designs” (p. 173/0	Quanopen charged with taking up arms against the English and participated in the Swamp Fight, said nothing of the “destroying of Pettacomscutt, and he was at the Assaulting of Mr. William Carpenters Garrison at Pawtuxet” took arms and helped destroy Nashaway and carried away 20 English captives (January 27, 1676) (p. 177). Quanopen charged guilt and was shot to death on the 26 of August (p. 177).	Hough 1858, 173-185

			<p>Godfree, Wm Heifferman, Capt Wm Turner, Anashawin, John Green, Mansasses Molasses, Suckats Squa, Whaminuck shin, Serjt Roger's Man</p>		<p>“Indian with one Eye, Quanopens Brother (p. 177) saith his Brother Quanopen was a Comander in the Warr, but he was not , he being soe defective in his eye Sight, that he was incapable. Voted, that at present Judgment is suspended” (p. 178)</p> <p>Sunkeecunasuck testified that he was at the burning of Warwick, “and that Wenunaquabin, and Indian now in Prison, was at the burning and destroying with him...and that his Brother Quanopin, was the second Man in Comand in the Narragansett Cuntry, that he was the next to Nenanantenentt” (p. 178). Nechett testifies that Sunkeecunasuck was present at Warwick and is sented to death with his brother (p. 178)</p> <p>Ashamattan testifies that his “Brother Quanapin” had wampum with him and commanded many Indians (p. 178) and that the Dutch supplies them with powder (p. 179).</p> <p>Wenanaquabin testifies that he did not arrive to Warwick till after the town was burned and witnessed Nechett there “about Noone” with his gun and that he was present at the Falls Fight with “Capt. Turner, and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his life” (p. 179). Sentenced to death with Quanopin (p. 180).</p> <p>John Wecopeak testified that back in March sometime he joined the Narragansetts at Pewanascuk where they burnt a barn, two homes and two</p>	
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					<p>Englishman, but was not present at Pettacomscuutt (p. 180). That he was with Indian John, “Heiffermans Man” removing wigwams and retrieving two dead Indians and that the wife of George Craft was shot, her body chopped with a hatchet “saith she did not crye hoe” (p. 180). “Also saith, that he was at the Fight of Capt. Turner, and run away” (p. 180) by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but said alfoe, that he was a great Distance. Butt John Godfree and William Heifferman saith, that he the said Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shott in the Thight, and that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said that was his Name. Voted guilty of the Charge, and to dye as the others” (p. 181).</p> <p>Anashawin a Narragansett denies that he harmed John Green of Narragansett, “occasioned about the Death of a dumb Boy” (p. 181)</p> <p>Quonaehewacout testifies that all Sachems present when Jerah Bull’s garrison was burnt December 16, 1675, and the killing of 17 men there (p. 181).</p> <p>Manasses Molasses testified that he did not kill Low Howland at Tiverton, but he bought the dead man’s coat for ground nuts and that Quasquomack killed him (p. 182).</p> <p>Mumuxuack also known as Toby is accused of killing John Archer, that he and four others shot and struck him with hatchet, and threatened by his brother</p>	
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					<p>took the head of Archer and gave it to Awetamoe and was rewarded with a shirt (ca. Aug. 6, 1676) (p. 184).</p> <p>Suckats Squa lives with Daniel Wilcocks and testifies against Molasses (p. 185).</p> <p>“Whaminuckshin, Serjt Roger’s Man, being examined said that he was at Thomas Gould’s Garriosn, and the Occasion of his cominge was to bury his Father, or help bury him, and there found severall Indians upon their Gard” (p. 185).</p>	
28 August 1676 (double check this may be of 1675!)	Hostages	Springfield Hartford	Major Pynchon	Pynchon orders to take hostages of the Springfield Indians, and not to disarm them. The hostages are sent to Hartford, CT (p. 143)		Judd 1905, 143
September 1676	Execution	Boston		“Two men executed at Boston for murdering some Indian Squaws & children” (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
16 September 1676	Captivity Petition of rates	Mass Bay	Philip Eastman	Philip Easton petitions his payment of rates “considering his late captivity wth the Indians, & losse” (p. 114)		Shurtleff 1854, 114
16 September 1676	Death Penalty	Mass Bay		“There being many of our Indian ennemyes seized, & now in our possession, the Court judgeth it meete to refer he disposal of them to the late honoured council, declaring it be their sence, that such of them as shall appeare to have imbrued their hand in English blood should suffer death here, and not be transported into forreigne parts” (pp. 115)		Shurtleff 1854, 155
11 October 1676	Intelligence of Turners Falls Battle	Montage, MA, Turners Falls	Capt. Holyoake, Capt. Turner	“We had Newes by a Post, of a fight upon Connecticot River between Deerfield and Squakheig, there were about an hundred and sixty of our		L’Estrange 1676, 3-4

				souldiers under the command of Captain Holyoake, and Captain Turner...picking out of the several Garrisons, as many souldiers as could conveniently ve spared, resolved to Attaque them, it being a great Fishery place called Deerfield Falls” (pp. 3-4)		
12 October 1676	War	Kinnibecke, Shipscott, Monhegin, Casco Bay	Major Clarke, and Suffolke men with 20 Indians	120 able bodied men of Suffolke with 20 Indians are sent to the Eastern parts under the command of Major Clarke to persue the enemy, and 70 men impressed out of Essex (p. 122), 60 men from Midlesex to be sent to Piscataqua. The plan is to first secure Black Point then to march against the enemy in Pegwakick, equipped with six months worth of provisions (p. 123)....150 men under Captain Hathorne, Major Generall Dennison to Porstmouth to improve soldiers there (p. 124)		Shurtleff 1854, 122-124
November 1676	Native warriors against enemy Indians	Meadfield and beyond Wrentham	Peter Ephraim, Daniel Gookin	Letter from Daniel Gokin to Peter Ephraim “are to order you & as many volunteer Indians (of our friends) that you can get together for to forthewith to march up to Meadfield & from there to move into the woods Beyond Wrentham were I am informed some of our enemies Lurke there”		Vol. 30: 223, “Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
20 November	Indian captivity	Boston, MA	John Nemasitt,	A note written by Daniel Gooking the in Cambridge in behalf of John	On November 23, 1676 it is “Order that prisonkeeper in Boston do release Mary	Vol. 30: 228-228a,

1676	Indian war time service terms		Daniel Gookin Sr., Wr. Whetcomb, Mr. Deane	Nemasitt who served as a soldier with the English for 10 weeks and who now “has a wife and sucking child now in prison in Boston, who had her life & liberty promised & engaged to her husband at Pascataway & was left at Cochelo while her husband with the Rest of the Army, went to Casco & Black Point: But during their absence this woman & child was sent among others (though mistake) to Boston & there sold among the rest to Mr. Whetcomb and Mr Deane, but upon mention ye counsel she was stopped in prison” Her husband is also willing to repay funds used to acquire her (228)	Nemasit an indian and her Child and deliver her unto her husband John Nemasit. Major Richard Waldron to repay Thomas Deane and James Whetcomb however much they paid for her” (228a)	“Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33.” <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
24 November 1676	Burnt infrastructure Provisions	Boston		“The north chh. Or meeting house at Boston was burnt & about 40 or 50 dwelling houses & store houses” (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
1 January 1677 (reported)	War Famine Native relocation	New France	Reported by Father Jacques Vaultier from Syllery, Abanaki mission	At the beginning of KPW abnakis were against the English, took up residence with the French – namely the Sokokis and Abnakis. Summer of 1675 the Sockokis traveled the Road of three Rivers and settled and the Abnakis took residence at Sillery arriving mid-Spring 1676 after they “suffered during The winter from so unusual a famine that many of them died” (p. 223)		Thwaites 1900, 233
24 May 1677	Hunting practice fear	Mass Bay		“Order to prevent inconvenience by Indjans travayling the woods with their guns”....given freedom to hunt, but when see an English person, throw down their guns and present his certificate (p. 136), otherwise his gunn may be taken (p. 137)		Shurtleff 1854, 136-137
18 April 1677		Cochecha		“Since my last we have been & are almost Alarmed by ye Enemy. An		Boutin 1867, 363

				Acct of ye mischief done”...11 th “2 more kill’d at Wells. 12 th , 2 men, one women & 4 children kill’d at York & 2 houses burnt. 13 th , a house burnt at Kittery & 2 old people taken Captive by Simon & 3 more...14 th , a house surprised on the south side Piscatay & 2 young women carried away thence. 16 th , a man kill’d at Greenland and his house burnt, another sett on fire but ye Enemy was beaton off & ye fire put out by some of our men who then recovered alsoe one of ye young women taken 2 days before who sts there was but 4 Indians; they ran skulking about in small pties like wolves” (p. 363).		
20 September 1677	Raid Captivity Mortality	Hatfield, MA		“About 12 persons were killed by ye Indians at Hattfield and about 20 carried captive” (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
5/6 November 1677	Disease Mortality epidemic	Charlestown, MA	Mr. Thomas Shepard (eldest some of Thomas Shepard, Sr)	Thomas Shepard dies at his house in Charlestown at the age of 45 from small pox. He preached and was minster of Charlestown. “He dyed of ye Small pox wch he Sensibly perceived he was infested wth whilst he went to visett some of his neighbors who lay sick of yt desease....The winter of this year, 77, ye Small pox was very rife in Boston & Charlstown wr many dyed. It rages this Spring tho: not so mortall as in the Winter (p. 330)		Bradstreet 1854, 330
1678	War and taxation Population statistics	Hatfield, MA		After the war, there are 48 families living in Hatfield that are taxed, in 1670 there are only 30 families living there		Judd, History of Hadley, 1863, 92
Spring 1677	Subsistence threat fear			Land near Marlborough, Massachusetts Bay in the Spring of 1677 “taken away the fencing stuff		Gookin 1999, 456

				from about the Indian's lands, but taken away some cart-loads of their young apple trees and planted them in their own lands. And when some of those Indians made some attempts to plant (by order of authority) upon their own lands in the spring of 1677, some person of that place expressly forbid them, and threatened them if they came there to oppose them, so that the poor Indians being put into fears returned, and dared not proceed; and yet those Indians that went to plant were such as had been with the English all the war" (p. 456).		
9 April 1677	Indian captivity	Mass Bay	Samuel Lyde, Captain John Hunter	Samuel Lyde files a petition for the keeping of his Indian girl aged about 12 years, told to be a friend to Captain John Hunter. Under Mass Bay law, no Indians may be kept without penalty unless intent for export. The petition requests the keeping of her "The girl is since growne very much in stature and salt and full in body & brought to be very servitable in his family"		Vol. 30: 236b, "Indian Affaires 1603-1775, Vol. 30-33." <i>Massachusetts Archive Collection</i> , Massachusetts State Library.
21 April 1677	Indian captivity Native POW	Newport, RI	Capt. Dennison, CT	War	Native POW and captives from Narragansett County, then in holding at Newport are to be taken by Capt. Denison, "and carried away as prisoners for their lawful employments; and also from their possessions in this Collony, and within the bounds thereof are arrested and conveyed to yourselves for tryall upon default of execution and	Bartlett 1857, 561

					disobedience to your authoritie exercised by your declarations and edicts” (p. 561)	
10 May 1677	Runaway Indians	Connecticut Colony		To treat and prevent further runawayys that have submitted themselves to the English for mercy, Indians that apprehended any captive may return him to English authorities for two yards of cloth or if they adied to may a penalty of 40 shillings (pp. 308-309)		Trumbull 1852, 208-309
Late morning, 19 September 1677	Hatfield Attack Mortality Captivity Burnt infrastructure Turners Falls men	Hatfield, MA	Capt. Thomas Watts	Hatfield attacked resulting in 12 English dead (5 men (one Benoni Stebbins), rest women and children), 4 wounded, 17 captives and 7 buildings burnt. The Indians with captives proceed to Deerfield, killing one more and taking 4 more captive (one Quintin Stockwell) (p. 175)	Capt. Thomas Watts peruses them with 50 men....Captives moved through Canada, and Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings pursue with permission of Andros and with commission from MA (176-177). Rescued, minus three of the captives that were killed, and the mission cost 200 pounds (p. 178)	Judd 1905, 175
6 March 1679	War WIA KIA English burial	Sudbury, MA	Captain Mason, Captain Wadsworth, Captain Brattlebank	Soldiers Daniel Warrin and Joseph Pierrot request to bring troops to bury the dead. They “found 13 or 14 of Captain Wadsworth men who wear escaped sume of them wounded and brought into Sudbury towne: And the next morning see as it was light we went to look for the Concord men who were Slain in the River middon and their we went in the cold water....wear we found five and we brought them in to the Bridge and we buried them there: and then we joined our selves to Captain Hunton with as many others as we could procure and went over the River to look for Captain wadworth and Capt Brattlebank and the soldiers that wear slain: and we gathered them up and buried them: and then it was agreed that we should go up to [Nobsrut?] to bring the Carts for them into Sudbury Towne and soo returned		Doc. 224, 6 March 1679, Vol. 68, Military, MSL

				from againe.”		
1697	Murder Revenge for Turners Falls	“Field,” Springfield vicinity	Samuel Field	Samuel Field is shot down in a field by a Native supposedly out of revenge for his participation in Turners Falls (p. 67)	Oral tradition	Genealog y of Early Settlers in Trenton and Ewing by Eli Field Cooley and William S. Cooley, 1883. Trenton, NJ: W.S. Sharp Printing Co.
Ca. 1824	Visual Trauma of Beer’s Fight 1675	Route from Montague to Northfeild, MA		“The ground where the disaster happened, is now cleared, and to this day is called Beer’s plain, and the hill where the captain fell, Beers mountain. Near the river, about three fourths of a mile south of the place of the first attack, is shewn a great ravine, connecting with the river, called Soldiers hole, from one of Beers’ men, who there sought safety in his flight. At a sandy knoll on the west side of the road, near the place where the attack commenced, the bones of the slain are still to be seen, in some instances, bleaching in the sun. Until lately the mail route from Montague to Northfield, passed over the ground, but a recent alteration, it now runs a little to the west of it. Janes’ mill is situated a small distance north of the place of the attack” (p. 104).		Hoyt 1824, 104

Appendix III: Primary Sources – Selected Excerpts

Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 60 : April 6, 1676

...being disipatted this day and Cannot sett Untill tomorrow when we intend to Consider what is most expedient we just now have intelligence off three men killed att Hadley where none had so before been donne, also off some scouts sent towards Deerfield who have discovered sundry wigwams with fires not farre from thence what those things will occasion the Bay forces to doe or send to us about we know nott, they sent mr Nowell to us already for our Conjunction to have moved up 20 miles above Quabaug towards Lanchaster where there masters (as they call them) signified that they had intelligence off a 1000 off the enemies Butt we Returned answer to that, we were yet in Capacity to supply our helpfulness then, By reason of the Majors illness and that off exhance of our souldiars, etc.....

Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 67 : April 29, 1676

Such things will weaken the enemies strength and spirits: and rationall it is to thinke y^t might [illegible] be undertaken [illegible] against them here in conjunction wth what is in other parts it might at such a time sinke thier harts & brake their rage and power; and make them much more reall for peace than yet they are Sundry things are spoken here by those Indian Messeng^{ers} now returned to yo^rselves that give us to understand they take Little heede to the truth in their relations. And that they doe (especially he y^t belong to these parts) labr^d to rep^rsant the enemies stake as much to their advantage as may be whether aggreing wth the truth or noe.”

...The spirite of man wth us are more than ever heightened wth desire & earnestnesse to be going forth against the enemy have bin [illegible] moving for liberty & would Some they might obtaine is this night And shall the Lord incline and direct you to order any volunteers to other help hither; they would [illegible] more of o^{rs} than reason would y^t we should spare ready to sayn wth them in the enterprize [illegible] thoughts are that it would too much to adbantyage to have a paryt of faithfull Indians joyning wth the English....

Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 71 : May 15 1676

[71a]

...in the bay that they have Certain intelligence from the Eastward y^t the Mohawks have taken & slew twenty six of o^r enemies...As to o^r moving up to ye Indians at their fishing place I cannot but judge we have

sate still when God hath called us to be up and doing & verily feare God will charge it upon us for sloth and neglect if following his guiding providence whe he hath bin leading to advantageous ways of coming upon them such as we cannot expect at a nerest time. They sitt by us secure wthout watch, busy at their harvest worke storing themselves with food for a yeer to fight against us and we let theme alonge to take the full advantage that ye selves would afford them by there wise nor enemy. They [illegible] the evening thought but

[71b]

But this morning Providence hath alarm^d us wth another voice & call seeming to Speake to us that the Season is not yet past and that we are necessitated to take hold of it before it be quite gone ffor about sunrise came into Hatfield one Thomas Reede, a Souldier who was taken captive when Deacon Goodman was slain: He Relates y^t they are not planting at Deerfield and have been so these three or four days or more. Saith further that they dwell at the falls on both sides of the River; are a Considerable number; yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are both Sides of the River above 60 or 70 fighting men. They are secure high and comfortable boasting of great things they have done and will doe. there is Thomas Eames his daughter and children hardly used: one or two belonging to Medfielde I thinke two children belonging to Lancaster. The night before Last they came down to Hatfield upper meadows have driven away many horses and Catall to the number of fourscore and upward as they judge: many of these this man saw in Deerfield meadow: and found the barrs putt up to keepe them in. This being the State of things we thinke the Lord calls us to make some try and what may be done against them suddainly wthout further delay; and therefore the Concurring resolution of men here seems to be to goe out against them too morrow at night so as to be wth them the Lord assisting before breake of day It would be strength and rejoycing to us might be favord wth some helpe from yourselves, but if the Lord deny that to us you Cannot or see not your way to assist or goe before us in the undertaking, I thinke or men will goe with suche of or own as we can raise truysting him wth the issue; rather than to sett still and tempt God by doing nothing. Should yo^r Indians know anything of this motion they may be under temptation to give intelligence of it to the enemy. We need guidance and help from heaven: We humbly begge yo^r advice and help if it may be And that wth Comitting you to guidance and Hassing of y^e most High Remain

Yo^r Worps: in all humble Sarvice J^{no} Russell

Altho this man speakes of their numbers as he judath yet: thay may be many more for we perceive their number varies and thay are going and Coming so that there is no trust to his guesse.

Will: Turner
John Lyman
Isack Graves

Connecticut Archives – Colonial Wars, Series I, Doc. 74 : May 22, 1676

Some more of o^r Souldiers have dropped in there o^r Last; some on Satturday or & on Satturday night troo yesterday. And one this morning : and about noon one M^r Atherto[n] came in to Hadley. So that now the number of those wanting is either eight or nin[e] and thirty. Some were wandering on the West mountains on Satturday who were not wounded whether for Providence may yet guide them in or noe we know not we are not quite wthout hopes of some of them.

As to the number of the enemy Slain; many of the Souldiers Say they guessed them to be about fourscore y^t lay upon the ground. But Serjeant Richard Smith Saith he had time and took it to run them over by [illegible] going from wigwam to wigwam to doe it & also what was between y^r banke and th^e water. and found them about an hundred he hath sometimes S^d SixScore but stande to y^e y^t they were above 100 . seventeene being in a wigwam or a two little higher up than the rest.

Likewise Will^m Draw a souldier y^t terms to be of good behavior & Credit being two or three Soldiers to stand in a secure place below the banke, more quiet than he thought was [illegible] for the time; he asked them why they had stood there saith they answered that they had seen many goe down the falls and thy would endeavo^r to tell how many. Here upon he observed wth them : until he told fifty; and they S^d to him that those made up Six score and ten . Some of them also were Slain in their pursuit of or^s where so many of or^s fall. Hence we Cannot but judge that there were abov^e 200 of them Slain

Our Scouts being out his this night have discovered that the enemy abide Still in the place where they were on both Sides y^e River and in the Island; and fires in the Same place where o^r men had burnt the wigwams. So that they judge either that Philip is com to them or some Souldiers of his Company from Squakeaheags, Paquiog and other places . Hereupon it seems most probable if not contendable[?] that their pur=pose is to abide here at least for some spare time as having the advantage of of place best suited to shift for their Safety being on both sides the River on the Islands and their fort those by Deerfield River and amide the deplorable places sitt for time to lurke in & escape by Where we would humbly propose it to you^r Consideration whether Providence doth not off[?] at and Call to y^r accepting this opportunity & improving of it speedily before it slip[?]; and whether we may not look y^t thr taking them here wtha Small [illegible] help of English and Indians may not be likely to be a great ad=vantage then greatest number when they are removed hence they hav^e planted as Is judged 300 acres of choice ground at Deerfeild : their fish is there not yet fitt to Carry away and their place such as they can thay can shift almost every way from [illegible] So y^t we Count them likely to abide a while.

Massachusetts State Archives – Volume 69 : April 25, 1676

the soldiers here are in great distress for want of clothing, both linen and woolen. Some has been brought from Quabaug, but not an eight of what we want.

There is come into Hadley a young man taken from Springfield at the beginning of last month, who informs that the enemy is drawing up all their forces towards these towns, and their headquarters are at Deerfield.

Roger L'Estrange, A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England, Being A Continued Account of the Bloudy Indian-War, From March till August, 1676 (London, UK: F.B. for Dorman Newman, 1676) : Ca. May 19, 1676

[P. 12]

About a fortnight afterwards, the fore mentioned Captain Turner, by Trade a Taylor, but one that for his Valour has left behind him an Honourable Memory, hearing of the Indians being about Twenty miles above them at Connecticut River, drew out a Party at Hadly and Northampton, where there was a Garrison; and marching all night, came upon them before day-break, they having no Centinels or Scouts abroad, as thinking themselves secure, by reason of their remote distance from any of our Plantations; ours taking this advantage of their negligence, fell in amongst them, and killed several hundreds of them upon the place, they being out of any posture or order to make any formidable resistance, though they were six times superior to us in number; But that which was almost as much, nay in some respect more considerable then their lives, we there destroyed all their Ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly they may be with men: We likewise here demolish Two Forges they had to mend their Armes, took away all their materials and Tools, and drove many of them into the River, where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs, (intended for making of bullets) into the said River: But this great successe was not altogether without its allay, as if Providence had designed to checker our joys and sorrows; and lest we should sacrifice to our won Nets, and say, Our own Arms or prowess hath done this, to permit the Enemy presently after to take an advantage against us;...

Roger L'Estrange, A True Account of the Most Considerable Occurrences that have apned in the Warree Between the English and the Indians in New England, From the Fifth of May, 1676, to the Fourth of August last (London, UK: Printed for Benjamin Billinsley at the Printing-Press in Cornhill, 1676) : Ca. May 19, 1676

[P. 3]

Upon the same day we had Newes by a Post, of a fight upon *Connecticut* River between *Deerfield* and *Squakhieg*, there were about an hundred and sixty of our souldiers under the command of Captain *Holyoke*, and Captain *Turner*: The occasion of the engagement was this, The *Indians* having stolen and driven away much Cattle from *Hatfield* and those Towns adjoining, and our men perceiving by the track which way they went, learned at last where the *Indians* Rendezvous was; and picking out of the several Garrisons, as many souldiers as could conveniently be spared, resolved to Attaque them, it being a great Fishery place called *Deerfield Falls*.

Our souldiers got thither after a hard March just about break of day, took most of the *Indians* fast asleep, and put their guns even into their Wigwams, and poured in their shot among them, whereupon the *Indians* that durst and were able did get out of their Wigwams and did fight a little (in which fight one *Englishman* only was slain) others of the *Indians* did enter the River to swim over from the English, but many of them were shot dead in the waters, others wounded were theriein drowned, may got into Canoes to paddle away, but the paddlers being shot, the Canoes over-set with tall therein, and

[P. 4]

the stream of the River being very violent and swift in the place near the great Falls, most that fell over board were born by the strong current of that River, and carried upon the Falls of Water from those exceeding high and steep Rocks, and from thence tumbling down were broken in pieces; the English did afterwards find of their bodies, some in the River and some cast ashore, above two hundred.

But as the English were coming away wit the plunder they had got, there was a noise spread among some of them, of *Sachem Philip's* coming down upon them; with a thousand men: which not being weighed as it might have been by the English, whether it were true or false; a fear possessed some part of the English, whereby they fell into a disorder, and thereby Captain *Turner* and several of his Souldiers were slain and others to the number of two and thirty. But Captain *Holyoke* exhorted them not to be terrified, saying God hath wrought hitherto for us wonderfully, let us trust in him still: and reducing his men into close order made a safe and a valiant retreat, and preserved the Souldiers under him; that there were bu few of them slain, and the Souldiers so cut off were surpriz'd by a Party of the Enemy belonging to the *Indians* at *Deer-field-falls*, who having gotten before our forces had laid and Ambush, the chiefest execution of which was through too much fear of our Men whereby the disordered themselves; thus God by this mixture of his Providence would hide pride from our eyes, who perhaps might have been too much lifted up by our success: several loads of dryed fish the English found, and were forced to consume there.

They also found and demoslised the *Indian* Smiths Forge, which they had there set up for the mending of their Guns. Some *Indian* Women (since that taken Prisoners) do say and affirm that there were slain in that ingagement with them four hundred of which number were seventy of the *Wampangs*, or *Phillip Sachems* men: and that he

had of his own proper Company not any great number left, and that were it not for him and one *Sachem* more, the *Indians* would gladly yield to any terms of Peace with the English.

Douglas Edward Leach, Ed. *A Rhode Islander Reports on King Philip's War: The Second William Harris Letter of August, 1676* (Providence, RI: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1963) : Ca. May 19, 1676

[P.77]

...One Captain Turner of Boston, a Baptist, with 120 men, he and all of them being volunteers and all Baptists and Baptist sympathizers...

[P.80]

The English came upon the enemy in the morning, found them asleep, and slew some hundreds of them. But very many of the Indians got into canoes, that is, small boats, some made of trees and others of the bark of trees, in order to flee across the river. The English pursued them, firing at those on the river, thereby throwing them into consternation, and killing some who were steering the canoes. the place being near a high waterfall (that is to say, a place in the river where the rocks extend across it, over which the water runs and then falls down a great distance below the above-mentioned rocks onto other rocks), the canoes and the Indians were driven by the force of that great river over the rocks and down the very dreadful drop, to be overwhelmed and dashed to death against the rocks, a loss of many desolate Indian souls. ...

Afterwards a few of the English were going after some other Indians, but being told by a captive English boy that a great party of Indians was coming, the English hastened away. On their route the Indians had laid ambush in a swamp, but as the English were not all together, only part of them went that way. The ambushing Indians slew many of that group, in fact, about thirty-eight. Four of five men (some say more) the

[P.81]

Indians caught alive, and tortured them as follows: They tied their hands up spreading [torn] upon the one [torn] and the other upon another, and likewise set two stakes at a distance, to which they tied their feet. Then they made a fire under each of them, gashing their thighs and legs with knives, and casting into the gashes hot embers to torment them. This also somewhat stanches the blood so that they do not bleed to death so soon, but remain alive to torment longer...

Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the Warr With the Indians in New-England* (Boston, MA: John Foster, 1676) : Ca. May 18, 1676

[P. 48]

May. 18. This day happened which is worthier to be remembered. For at *North-hampton, Hadly*, and the Towns thereabouts, two *English* Captives escaping from the Enemy, informed that a considerable body of *Indians*, had seated themselves not far from *Pacomptuck*, and that they were very secure: so that should Forces be sent forth against them, many of the Enemy would(in probability) be cut off, without any difficulty. Hereupon the Spirits of Men in those Towns were raised with an earnest desire to see and try what might be done. They sent to the neighbours in *Connecticut* for a supply

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of men, but none coming, they raised about an hundred and four score our of their own towns, who arrived at the *Indian Wigwams* betimes in the morning, finding them secure indeed, yea all asleep without having any Scouts abroad; so that our Souldiers came and put their Guns into their Wigwams, before the *Indians* were aware of them, and made a great and notable slaughter amongst them. Some of the Souldiers affirm, that they numbered above one hundred that lay dead upon the ground, and besides those, others told about an hundred and thirty, who were driven into the River, and there perished, being carried down the Falls,...

...And all this while but one *English-man* killed, and two wounded. But God saw that if things had ended thus; another and not Christ would have had the Glory of this Victory, and therefore in his wise providence, he so disposed as that there was at last somewhat a tragical issue of this Expedition. For an *English* Captive Lad, who was found in the Wigwams, spake as if *Philip* were coming with a thousand *Indians*: which false report being famed (*Fama bella stant*) among the Souldiers, a pannick terror fell upon many of them, and they hasted homewards in a confused rout: In the mean while, a party of *Indians* from an Island (whose coming on shore might easily have been prevented, and the Souldiers before they set out from *Hadly* were earnestly admonished to take care about that matter) assaulted our men; yea, to the great dishonour of the *English*, a few *Indians* pursued our Souldiers four or five miles, who were in number near twice as many as the Enemy. In this *disorder*, her that was at this time the chief Captain, whose name was *Turner*, lost his life, he was purused through a River, received his Fatal stroke as he passed

through that which is called the *Green River*, & as he came out of the *Water* he fell into the hands of the *Uncircumcised*, who stripped him, (as some who say they saw it affirm it) and rode

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Away on his horse; and between thirty and forty more were lost in this Retreat.

Within a few days after this, Capt. *Turners* dead Corps was found a small distance from the River; it appeared that he had been shot through his thigh and back, of which its judged he dyed speedily without any great torture from the enemy. However it were, it is evident that the English obtained a victory at this time, yet if it be as some Indians have since related, the Victory was not so great as at first was apprehended: For sundry of them who were at several times taken after this slaughter, affirm that many of the Indians that were driven down the Falls got safe on shore again, and that they lost not above threescore men in the fight: also that they killed thirty and eight English men, which indeed is just the number missing. There is not much heed to be given to Indian Testimony, yet when circumstances and Artificial arguments confirm what they say, it becometh and impartial *Historian* to take notice thereof; nor is it to be doubted but the loss of the enemy was greater then those Captives taken by our Forces abroad did acknowledge. Some other Indians said that they lost several hundreds at this time, amongst whom there was one Sachem. I am informed that diverse Indisna who were in that battell, but since come in to the English at *Norwich*, say that there were three hundred killed at that time, which is also confirmed by an Indian called *Pomham*, who saith that of that three hundred there were an hundred and seventy fighting men.

William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* (Boston, MA: John Foster, 1677) : Ca. May 18, 1676

[P. 85]

But the great Company of the enemy, that stayed on that side of the Country, and about *Watchuset Hills*, when the rest went towards *Plymouth*, though they had been disappointed in their planting, by the death of *Canonchet*, were loth to loose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore having, seated themselves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that The English Forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of *Hadly* and *Northampton*, now and then took advantages to plunder them

of their Cattle, and not fearing any assault from our Souldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their Fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive y the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the Inhabitants of *Hadly*, *Hatfield*, and *Northampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their cattle, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison souldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal buisness to all the said Indians; yet was the victory obtained more considerable then at first was apprehended: For not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched silently in the dead of the night, May 18. And came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a dead sleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and rost beef, having lately driven away many of their milch cows, as an English woman confessed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the Indians rendezvouze, they alighted off their horses, and tyed them to some young trees at a quarter of a miles distance, so marching up, they fired amain into their very wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightening others with the sudden alarm of their Gunns, made them run into the River, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep Fall, they perished in the wa-

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ters, some getting in to Canooes, (small boats made of the barks of Birchen trees) which proved to them a *Charons* boat, being sunk, or over-set, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world: others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the Indians were first awakened with the thunder of their guns, they cried Our *Mohawks*, *Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon Them; but the dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it Could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number of the slain; some say there could not in reason be less then two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with much disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal men sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were kilt, which made the vi-

ctory more considerable then else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but their ruine immediately followed upon it...

The Indians that lay scattering on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help, of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the reer, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired, missing after their return thirty eight of their men: And if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more then ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the flank and reer, at all times encouraging the Souldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, who he

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presently dispatched, and another friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the souldiers without any further loss.

It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this engagement, that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the Falls, none of which were observed to get alive to shore, save one.

The loss that befell our men in the retreat, was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. *Tuners* order.

It is said also by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the reer of the English, through haste missed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured.

About seven dayes after this, they were minded to try the chance of Warr again, and see if they could not recover their loss, by returing the like upon the English: for,

May 30. A great number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired a-Boat twelve houses and barns without the Fortification of the town, driving away multitudes of their Cattle, and their Sheep, spreading themselves in the meadow near the town: which bravado so raised the courage of their neighbours at *Hadly*, that twenty five resolute young men ventured over the river, to relieve *Hatfield* in this distress...

Daniel White Wells and Reuben Field Wells, *History of Hatfield, Massachusetts, in three parts* (Springfield, MA: F.C.H. Gibbons, 1910).

Hope Atherton Account – Pp. 86-87.

Jonathan Wells Account – Pp. 463-466

February 1, 1731/2 (Age 78 Years)

[Attested Copy of Jonathan Wells Account taken by Stephen Williams in 1732]

[P. 463]

I shall give an aount of the remarkable providences of God wards Johnathan Wells Esq then aged 16 yearss and 2 or 3 months who was in this action [at the Falls fight, May 19]. He was wth the 20 men y^t were obliged to fight wth the enemy to recover their horses; after he mounted his horse a little while (being yhen in the rear of y^e company), he was fir^d at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair another struck his horse[‘s] behind a third struck his thigh in a place which before had been broken by a cart wheel & never set, but the bones lap^d & so grew together so y^t although one end of it had been struck and the bone shatter^d by y^e bullet, yet the bone was not wholly loss^d in y^e place where it had knit. Upon receiving his wound he was in danger of falling from his horse, but catching hold of y^e horse’s maine he recovered himself. the Indians perceiving they had wound’d him, ran up very near to him, but he kept y^e Ind^s back by presenting his gun to y^m once or twice, & when they stoped to charge he go trid of them & got up to some of y^e company, [In this flight for life, as appears by another scrap of our MSS., he stopped and took up behind him Stepehn Belding, a boy companion of sixteen years, who thus escaped.] Capt. Turner, to whom he represented y^e difficulties of y^e men in ye rear & urgd y^t he either turn back to y^r relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body; but y^e Capt. replid he had

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‘better save some, than lose all,’ and quickly y^e army were divided into several parties, one pilot crying out ‘if you love your lives follow me’; another y^t was acquainted wth ye woods cry^d ‘if you love your lives follow me.’ Wells fell into the rear again and took wth a small company yt separated from others y^t run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp & was most of y^m killed. They then separated again & had about ten men left with him, and his horse failing considerably by reason of his wound, & himself spent wth bleeding, he was left with one John Jones, a wounded man likewise. He had now got about 2 miles from ye place where yy did y^e exploit in, & now y^y had left y^e track of y^e company & were left both by y^e Indians y^t persued y^m and by their own men that should have terried with y^m. These two men were unacquainted wth y^e woods, & without anny track or path. J. W. had a gun & J. J. a sword. J. J represented y^e badness of his wounds, & made his companion think they were certainly

mortall, thd therefore when yy separated in order to find the path, J. W. was glad to leave him, lest he sh^d be a clog or hindrance to him. Mr. W. grew faint, & once when ye Indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a nutmeg, (which his grandmother gave him as he was going out,) he was reviv^d. After traveling awhile, he came upon Green river, and fold it up to y^e place call^d y^e Country farms, and pass doer Green river, & attempted to go up y^e mountain, but as he assend'd the hill he faint'd & fell from his horse;...

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The Indians have given the account following to Jonathan Wells, Esq., viz.: That the Monday after the fight, 8 Englishmen that were lost came to them and offered to submitt themselves to them, if they would not put them to death, but whether they promised them quarter or not, they took then, and burnt them; the method of Burning them was to cover them with thatch and put fire to it, and set them a running: and when one coat of thatch was burnt up, they would put on another, & the barbarous creatures that have given this account of their inhumanity, have in a scoffing manner added, that the Englishmen would cry out as they were burning, 'Oh dear! oh dear!' The Indians themselves account it very unmanly to moan or make ado under the torments and cruelties of their enemies who put them to Death."

Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, MA: H.R. Hunting & Company, 1905) : June 22, 1676.

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The complaint of Martha Harrison, which was substantiated by testimony before the Commissioners of Hadley, June 22, 1676:

"Martha Harrison of Hadley, widow, makes complaint against John Belcher of Braintree, a soldiers in Capt. Turner's company, for being the culpable occasion of the death of her husband, Isaac Harrison, a wounded man, riding upon his own horse, who fell from his horse, being faint, and this John Belcher, who was behind him, rode from him with Harrison's horse, though he entreated him not to leave him, but for God's sake to let him ride with him.

Stephen Belden of Hatfield testified that he, riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the ground rising up, and heard him call to the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before, to take him up, saying he could ride now; the man rode away, and both Jonathan Wells and I called him to go back, and he would not. This was when we were returning from the fight at the falls."

John Easton, Franklin B. Hough, Editor, *A Narrative Of the Causes which led to Philip's Indian War, of 1675 and 1676*, by John Easton, of Rhode Island (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1858) : August 24, 1676 (Ca. May 19, 1676)

[P. 179]

Wenanaquabin of Pawtuxett saith, that he was not at the wounding of John Scott, but was at that Time living at Abiah Carpenters, and he could cleer him. Abiah Carpenters being sent for, before his face saith, that he went away from their House some time in May, 1675, and did not see him againe, nor could heare of him till towards Winter, which he saith is true. The said Wenanaquabin further saith, that he did not come to Warwick till Night after the Towne was burned, and after owned that he saw Nechett and Indian there. The said Nechett, to his Face affirmed that he saw him at Warwick at the burning the Towne with his Gun, about Noone. The said Wananaquabin also confesseth, that he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner, and there lost his Gun, and swam over a River to save his Life.

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Voted guilty of the Charge, and that he shall be putt to Death after the same Manner, and Time and Place as Quanopin.

[Note: Quanopin's sentace was "that he shall be shott to death in this Towne on the 26th Instant, and about one of the Clock in the Afternoone. P. 23.]

John Wecopeak, on his Examination saith, that he was never out against the English, but one Time with other Narragansett Indians about the Month of March last, against a Towne upon Conecticut River called in Indian Pewanassuck, and at that Time their Company burned a Barne and two dwelling Houses, and killed two Englishmen, and that he was not at the burning of Pettacomscutt, but was at that Time with Indian John, William Heiffermans Man, removeinge their Wigwams, but shortly after he was sent downe by the Sachems to fetch off two dead Indians from thence, and saith that Georg Crafts Wife was shott with a Slugg, and chopt in some Parts of her Body with a Hatchett, and saith she did not crye hoe. Also saith, that he was at the Fight with Capt. Turner, and run away

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by Reason the Shott came as thick as Raine, but

said alsoe, that he was at a great Distance. Butt
John Godfree and William Heifferman saith, that
he the said Wecopeak told them, that he saw Capt.
Turner, and that he was shott in the Thigh, and
that he knew it was him, for the said Turner said
that was his name.

Voted guilty of the Charge, and to dye as the
others.

Orange Chapin, *The Chapin Genealogy* (Northampton, MA: Metcalf & Company, 1862).

[P. 4]

On May 17, 1676 one Soldier Japhet Chapin of Northampton, inscribed in his account book that

“I went out to Volenteare against the ingens the 17th of May, 1676 and we ingaged batel the 19th
of May in the moaning before sunrise and made great Spoil upon the enemy and came off the
same day with the, Los of 37 men and the Captin Turner, and came home the 20th of May.”

Appendix IV: Annotated Bibliography of Selected Sources

Source: Hoyt, E. *Antiquarian Researches Comprising A History of the Indian Wars. Greenfield, MA: Ansel Phelps, 1824.*

Historian E. Hoyt makes his own observations in regards to Beer's fight and local mail route from Montague to Northfield: "The ground where the disaster happened, is now cleared, and to this day is called Beer's plain, and the hill where the captain fell, Beers mountain. Near the river, about three fourths of a mile south of the place of the first attack, is shewn a great ravine, connecting with the river, called Soldiers hole, from one of Beers' men, who there sought safety in his flight. At a sandy knoll on the west side of the road, near the place where the attack commenced, the bones of the slain are still to be seen, in some instances, bleaching in the sun. Until lately the mail route from Montague to Northfield, passed over the ground, but a recent alteration, it now runs a little to the west of it. Janes' mill is situated a small distance north of the place of the attack" (p. 104). Hoyt also recaps the narratives of Jonathan Wells and Rev. Hope Atherton, he had received this information from Williams' "Redeemed Captive" appendix publication, and from a Rev. John Taylor "who obtained his materials from an attested copy of Mr. Wells, along with a paragraph of a sermon, delivered by Mr. Atherton to his congregation, the Sabbath after his return" (p. 134).

Source: *Colonial War Series I 1675-1775, Connecticut State Archives, Hartford, Connecticut.*

The collection of Connecticut War Council housed at the Connecticut State Library was organized and preserved by Sylvester Judd in 1843. The majority of the letters are also published by J. Hammond Trumbull in the *Records of the Connecticut Colony* appendix. The King Philip's War era letters are very descriptive and provide the most descriptive context in which to place the battle as the Massachusetts and Connecticut War Council were throughout the war communicable in gathered intelligence, battle outcomes, supply and soldier strengths and shortcomings, Native movements, lifestyle factors that may have impacted the battle (ex. weather, disease, etc.) and soldiers instructions or commissions. However few letters describe the actual fighting that occurred at the Falls. Letters written by John Russel of Hadley just before the battle on May 15, 1676 (Doc. 71a) tell us of Hadley's preparations, Mary Rowlandson's intelligence of the area and a description of the Falls; "that they will at the falls on both sides of the River are a Considerable number yet most of them old men and women. He cannot judge that there are both sides of the River above 60 or 70 fighting men" relied by Thomas Reedy (Read, Reed). Another letter scribed after the battle on May 22, 1676 (Doc. 74) provide us the most clues into happenings of the Falls battle including

Source: Judd, Sylvester. *History of Hadley Including the Early History of Hatfield, South Hadley, Amherst and Granby Massachusetts.*

Sylvester Judd was hired by the State of Connecticut in 1842-1843 to preserve their historical documents, and arranged them as they are today. He was a member of the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society and had exposure to 17th century materials and repatriated artifacts that are no long available or exist (p. xxxvii). His notes and correspondence are housed at the Forbes Library, North Hampton, Massachusetts. His notes and papers (mainly pertaining to Connecticut State Library holdings) do not possess any particulars outside what has been published in his *History of Hadley* in regards to Falls Fight May 19, 1676.

Source: Wells & Wells. “Jonathan Wells Account,” and the “Atherton Account” History of Hatfield. Springfield, MA, 1910.

The most important account of the Falls Fight battle is the narrative from Jonathan Wells later told by, and another account of Rev. Atherton that was told to his congregation on May 28, 1676 following the battle. (86-87). The account of Johnathan Wells was originally from a manuscript produced by Mr. Wells himself and a copy later scribed by Stephen Williams of Springfield that later resurfaces by Rev. John Taykor in 1793. The original manuscript as penned by Wells has yet to be found (463-467).

Source: Ezra Stiles, *Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D. D., LL.D. 1755-1794 with a Selection from his Correspondence*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter. New Haven, Connecticut, MDCCCXVI.

In 1761, historian Ezra Stiles mentions “About 40 Ind. Men at Monataque on Long Island. – Col. Talcott says that old Col. Wadsworth of Durham had a MS. History of the hungry March of 500 English & 300 Indians. The first action committed in the Northwest parts of Narraganset or Rhode Island Colony ; then the Indians gathered at Brimfield, where we routed them : then at Westfield, & lastly they fathered at Stockbridge or Housatonnoc, being pursued from Westfield ; at Housatonnoc the English overtook & gave them a most shock^g Defeat, w^c was the last Battle- the Inds. Then fleeing to Skantecook on Hudson’s River” (p. 157).

Potential Source: William Tuner’s Will

The grandson of Captain William Turner, Captain William Turner (1683-1759) died in 1759 Newport, Rhode Island. According to online genealogical resources, Captain William Turner left behind a will that described the plot of land he had owned that described the execution place of his grandfather Captain William Turner during the Falls Fight. Descendant of Captain Turner, Norma Heaton (her husband descends through his son Caleb Turner) was contacted – she has yet to find a copy of the will. Newport Townhall has been contacted and has responded that no wills prior to 1800 date to the Turner name.

Source: Rowlandson, Mary. *Narrative of the Captivity and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 4th ed. Lancaster: Carter, Andrews, and Company, 1828.

Mary Rowlandson’s account *Narrative of the Captivity and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* provides descriptive instances of Native-Native relations and culture, troop movements, supplies and logistics and the happenings of Thomas Reed, an English captive that later serves in the Falls Fight. The Native villages, corn fields and livestock about Deerfield are described.

Source: Trumbull, J. Hammond. *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*. Hartford, F. A. Brown, 1852.

Copies of the Journal of the War Council. Intelligence May 1, 1676 related by Secretary John Allyn, for the return of English Captives. “At A Meeting of the Council in Hartford, May 20, 1676, CT Colony receives intelligence of the “last engagement up the River,” and CT’s order to send up eight 80 men under Captain Benjamin Newbery to march toward Northampton the

following Monday – decision rectified by a letter sent from Rev. Mr. Russel declaring assistance and their present state (p. 442).

Source: Ezra Stiles, *Account of the Falls Fight Township, Itinerary. Yale Indian Papers Project, Yale University, New Haven, CT.*

October 6, 1760 Ezra Stiles transcribed an Account of the Falls Fight Township previously penned November 22, 1734. The account declares that Samuel Hunt and others who engaged in the Falls Fight were granted land by the Assembly of Massachusetts granting them a Township of six miles “square North of Deerfield” adequate to home 60 families in four years’ time, each with a house and a meeting house and home for the minister and a school lot of 100 acres” and provide a full list of the proprietors. His manuscript *Itineraries* dating to the mid-1700’s also contain early maps of the Hadley and Hatfield area.

Benjamin Trumbull, *An Account of loss of lives and damages in Philip’s War. Memoranda, etc., for this history of Connecticut. Z117 00186, MS. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library.*

Benjamin Trumbull records that at the “Falls of the Connecticut River” 38 English men were killed in the battle (p. 8). The manuscript provides no particulars related to the battle.

Leach, Edward Douglas. *A Rhode Islander Reports On King Philip’s War, the Second William Harris Letter of August 1676. Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1963.*

Mentions Wm Turner a Baptist of Boston that he 120 men all volunteers and “Baptist sympathizers” (p. 77). The source provides a brief description of the Falls Fight, describing the English coming upon the enemy in the morning and killing many of them – firing at those whom had get in their canoes in the River, some died as they fell from the “very dreadful drop” (p. 79). An English lad had given intelligence of a party of Indians “coming” and then English “hastened away” (p. 79). The English were ambushed at a swamp, and nearly all that entered the swamp were killed and others of the English were in other grounds (p. 79). The Harris letter has detail on the English that were captured and tortured “they tued thyr hands vp spreading vpon ye one & ye other vpon an other & like wise set two stakes distance to which they tyed theyr feet and then made a fyre vnder each of them gashing thyr thighs & legs with kniues & casting into ye gashes hott embers to torment them which Some what allsoe Stanches ye bloud yt they doe not Soe soone bleed to death but remayne alieue ye longer in torment” (p. 80).

V: Results of Public Outreach

Public outreach efforts included monthly meetings with the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board, Three public and landholder informational meetings, a presence at the Pocumtuck Homelands Festival, and meetings with collectors and landholders to view artifacts or conduct visual surveys of properties. The MPMRC also constructed a website “Battlefields of King Philip’s War” (KPWar.org) which contains information on previous battlefield projects conducted by the MPMRC (i.e. the Second Battle of Nipsachuck) and the current project. The website is also a public space to display our latest finds, contain our contact information and reports produced by this project to encourage community dialog and feedback.

The Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Battlefield Study Advisory Board held regular monthly meetings which MPMRC attended most often on a bi-monthly basis. These meetings were used as project updates, to coordinate research efforts, to plan public informational meetings, and to hear public comments. These meetings were most useful from a planning and research standpoint, but were also an important means to gain public input and to meet with interested or concerned individuals. The public audience averaged around twenty people at any given meeting. Audience members contributed to the dialogue and overall project through their comments, suggestions, and willingness to assist in both research and marketing capacities.

The purpose of the public informational meetings (March 14, 2015 and September 19, 2015, October 21, 2015) was to update the board and public of the research process and progress and to solicit comment and perspective. The first public informational meeting was held on March 14, 2015 at the Montague Nature Center and there were approximately 65 people in

attendance. Kevin McBride and MPMRC staff gave a 45 minute presentation detailing the goals of the project, a historical overview of King Philip's War and the Battle at Great Falls, and provided equal time to solicit public questions and comments. The second public information meeting was held on September 19, 2015 at the Montague Public High School and was advertised in advance in local newspapers, through flyers and posters, and a MPMRC postcard mailing sent to landholders within the proposed Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut Study Area. At least 85 people were in attendance. In addition to an update from the MPMRC research team the meeting included a talk by Peter Thomas on "Locating Wissantinnewag" followed by a panel discussion of Native and non-Native peoples with thoughts on the Battle of Great Falls project.

MPMRC staff participated in the 2nd Annual Pocumtuck Homeland Festival on August 1, 2015. It was advertised on our website KPWar.org and by festival organizers in advance that MPMRC staff would be on hand to help identify local archeological finds, and were especially interested in any lead shot or brass objects recovered from the towns in the project area including Gill, Riverside, Montague and Deerfield. MPMRC research staff created traveling exhibit text panels which provided an overview of the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut and the Battlefield Archeology research process [Figure 15].



Figure 15. MPMRC Battlefield Archeology Exhibit at the 2nd Annual Pocumtuck Homeland Festival, Montague, MA – August 1, 2015

Six visitors brought personal artifact collections recovered from Gill, Northfield, Deerfield, and the Springfield area. They consisted primarily of lithic objects from the late Archaic, middle and late woodland periods [Figure 16]. Local field collectors spoke with MPMRC staff and became aware of the significance of any lead musket balls, brass arrow points, brass or copper kettles, and other military and domestic objects that would assist in locating the boundaries of the battlefield site. Contact information was exchanged and it is hoped that such exchanged result in local collectors sharing information on such artifacts that they may be aware of. One historical artifact was brought by a collector who recovered the object from the Green River in Greenfield in the vicinity of the death of Captain Turner and where English forces crossed on their retreat towards Hadley. It was an iron blade fragment which had enough

diagnostic elements (shape, blood groove, and length) to identify it as a blade from a Civil War era saber bayonet, possibly for a Model 1841 “Mississippi” Rifle or Model 1855 Rifle [Figure 17].



Figure 16. *Examples of private object and lithic collections brought to the MPMRC Table at the Pocumtuck Homeland Festival, August 1, 2015.*



Figure 17. *Iron blade fragment identified a most likely the remains of a Model 1841 or Model 1855 Rifle Saber Bayonet.*

The MPMRC research staff designed, created, and regularly maintained a “Battlefields of King Philip’s War” website, accessible at www.kpwar.org, during the course of this project. The purpose of the website was to provide information about King Philip’s War and the Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut in particular. Visitors have many options including reading original articles, viewing galleries of King Philip’s War era artifacts, study a timeline of

the war, learn more about the American Battlefield Protection Program project, and stay updated as to upcoming educational programs. Through the website visitors can also submit questions, comments, and sign up to be added to an email list to received periodic updates and notices. Those visitors who may be local landholders or collectors are also encouraged to participation in the project and solicit any information they may have regarding relevant historical records or archeological materials [Figure 10].



Figure 18. *Battlefields of King Philip's War website screenshot, October 1, 2015.*

The MPMRC team reached out to a wide range of academics, and to encourage their students, to support a research consortium as requested by the Battlefield Study Advisory Board to conduct the research phase for the King Philip's War Battle of Great Falls/Wissantinnewag-Peskeompskut (May 19, 1676). Interested academics would be given the opportunity to join a consortium of academics, Native cultural and historical specialists, local historians and other interested parties for future research collaborations on the 17th Century cultural landscapes of the middle Connecticut Valley and the histories of Native and Colonial peoples in the region. The long-term goal of the Battlefield Advisory Board is to support the region's economy through historic tourism, develop preservation plans for significant cultural and historical sites in the region, develop a collaborative research and study process to discuss and debate a variety of topics and issues related to King Philip's War, and provide space to host discussions, house research materials, and host annual meetings.

Consenting academics included: Christopher Clarke (Professor and Department Head of History, University of Connecticut), Christine DeLucia (Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College), Matt McKenzie (Professor of History, University of Connecticut), Robert Paynter (Professor of Archaeology, University of Massachusetts), Kevin Sweeney (Professor of American Studies and History, Amherst College), Jason Warren (Strategist, U.S. Army War College), Walter Woodward (Connecticut State Historian, University of Connecticut), Patricia Rubertone (Professor of Anthropology, Brown University) and Neal Salisbury (Professor of History (Emeritus) Smith College).

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